476

Quarterly Vol. XXIV. Parts I-IV

THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH MADRAS

(Founded by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A.)

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
23 JAN 1956
MADRAS

1954— Sept. —1955 August

476
1-56
1227

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE, MYLAPORE
MADRAS

1955

Annual Subs., Inland, Rs. 8. Foreign, 14 Shillings.

Each part separately Rupees Two, Postage inclusive

CONTENTS

VOL. XXIV] 1954-55 [PARTS I-IV

PAGES

Editorial Note

Articles:

Two Notes on Sanskrit Syntax—By Dr. J. Gonda ... 1—8

Indianistic Researches in Laos—By Henri Deydier... 9—14

Ancient Hindu Criminal Law—By Dr. Ludo Rocher 15—34

Central Theme of the Theragāthā—By N. Aiyaswami Sastri ... 35—43

A Survey of Epigraphical Materials found at Sarnath —By Adris Banerji ... 44—51

Trinity in Sculpture—By K. V. Soundara Rajan ... 52—56

The Working Class in the Amarakośa—By D. D. Kosambi ... 57—69

Verse 12 of Bhoja Pratīhāra's Gwalior Praśasti—By Dasaratha Sharma ... 70—71

Vālmīki's View of the Social, Economic and Political roots of Culture and Happiness—By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri ... 72—83

Śrī Gītagovinde Pāṭhaparīkṣaṇam—By R. Anantha-krishna Sarma .. 84—91

Trinity in Sculpture—A further note—By K. V. Soundara Rajan ... 92

K. S. R. I. Notes ... 93—108

Obituary Notices ...109—110

Book Reviews: ...111—118

A. L. Basham: *The Wonder that was India*—V. Raghavan ; Sukumar Bhattacharya : *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal From 1704 to 1740*—T. V. Mahalingam ; T. V. Mahalingam: *South Indian polity*—R. Bhaskaran.

Supplements:

I. Tolkāppiyam :—VIII. Ceyyul Iyal—Ed. with Transliteration, Translation and Notes—By P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri ... 57—72

II. Arthaśāstravyākhyā : Jayamaṅgalā—Ed. By G. Harihara Sastri ... 61—76

EDITORIAL NOTE

We are very glad to announce that Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph. D., Professor of Samskrit, University of Madras, and one of the Editors and Correspondent of the Journal of Oriental Research and also one of the Secretaries of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute has been awarded the Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane Gold Medal for the year 1953. This medal was founded by Dr. B. C. Law, a well-known Indologist of Calcutta, in token of his high esteem for Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane, in the year 1947.

The medal is awarded to distinguished scholars, who have made significant contribution to Oriental Research especially in Vedic, Dharma Śāstra and Alaṅkāra studies. It is awarded every three years. The first recipient of the medal for the year 1950 was Professor K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, the eminent scholar.

We, on behalf of the Journal and also of the Research Institute, express our hearty felicitations to Dr. V. Raghavan for this well-merited appreciation of his scholarship and also of his valuable contributions to Oriental Research. He is also engaged in the arduous task of editing the Catalogus Catalogorum, the publication of which has been undertaken by the University of Madras.

K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar

193548
சென்னை-600 008

TWO NOTES ON SANSKRIT SYNTAX

BY

DR. J. GONDA,

Professor of Sanskrit, University, Utrecht, Holland.

I

Sanskrit syntax is in some respects much less complicated than that of the sister languages Greek and Latin. For this reason elementary grammars often limit the discussion of this chapter to a few points. Speyer's books[1] however shew that an elaborate description of the main topics reveals many points of interest, which are far from being always self-evident. Other scholars also contributed much which is essential with regard to a correct understanding of the texts or drew attention to phrases and constructions peculiar to Sanskrit. Those modes of expression, or particular groupings of words, which Sanskrit has in common with other languages, especially with languages the syntax of which is an object of intensive and prolonged study, are on the other hand, always apt to remain unnoticed.

One of these points concerns the phenomenon usually called *enallage*[2] of the adjective. Like many other grammatical terms this Greek word for "interchange" may lead to misunderstandings, for there is often no interchange at all. When we speak of *a nice cup of tea* it is not the cup which is called nice nor the tea which should be called nice, but it is the cup of tea to which the qualifications belongs. The *cup of tea* forms a unity and the adjective characterizes the phrase as a whole. Moreover, the tendency to pronounce characterizing adjectives—and especially when they are expressive of emotions or emphasis—as soon as possible, induces the person speaking to use such constructions as: the German *das braune Lachen ihrer Augen*, "the brown laughing of her eyes" instead of "the laughing of her brown eyes".[3]

---

1. J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax,* 1886; *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax,* 1896.

2. One also finds the term hypallage.

3. I also refer to W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax,* Heidelberg, 1931, p. 91.

These tendencies made it possible to add, without transgressing the bounds of intelligibility, an adjective to that member of a word group to which it does not, logically speaking, belong. It would be worth while to collect instances in various Indian languages.

The most usual sub-type of *enallage* in Sanskrit seems to be the agreement of an adjective, which (from the point of view of logic) properly belongs to a genitive dependent on a noun, with that noun itself. In other languages the same construction is likewise well known: in Latin we find, for instance, *omnium genera avium* (Petronius 69, 8) for "all kinds of birds" (*omnia genera avium*).

ṚV. 1, 52, 9 may perhaps be quoted as an instance: *bṛhat svaścandram amavad yad ukthyam akṛṇvata bhiyasā rohaṇaṃ divaḥ* "(Die Götter) machten mit Furcht den hohen Aufstieg zum Himmel, der selbstleuchtend, gewaltig, preisenswert ist" (Geldner): the adjectives, *bṛhat, svaścandra*, and *amavat* are, however, more appropriate to qualify the sky than the act of ascending it. For *amavat* see st. 10.

Similarly we find Nala 14, 3 (= Mbh. 3,66,3) *madhyam agneḥ praviśya tam*, where we might expect: *madhyam agneḥ praviśya tasya.*

The construction seems to have been especially liked when one of the higher numerals was accompanied by a genitive: ṚV. 10, 102, 5 *tena sūbharvaṃ śatavat sahasraṃ gavām...jigāya* "with (by means of) him he won a thousand and a hundred of well-nourished cows". Nala 1, 11 (=Mbh. 3, 53, 11) *dāsīnāṃ samalaṃkṛtam śatam* must, of course, be taken to mean "a hundred of well-adorned female servants". In the same way Mbh. 3, 297, 39, where it reads: *kulasya saṃtānakaraṃ suvarcasaṃ śataṃ sutānām,* instead of *saṃtānakarāṇām.* We might in this connection also mention a passage like Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, p. 23, 7 Finot: *strīṇāṃ sahasram abhirūpāḥ kāñcanamuktibhūṣitaśarīrāḥ* "a thousand beautiful women, whose bodies were adorned with gold and pearls". In other languages, e.g. Latin, this syntactic particular is especially frequent in connection with pronouns and adjectives expressing the idea of "all, many etc."

Other instances are: Hariv. 1, 50, 11

tasya (viz. *viṣṇoḥ*) *suptasya śuśubhe*
nābhimadhyāt samutthitam

ādyaṃ tasyāsanaṃ padmaṃ
brahmaṇaḥ sūryavarcasam

is explained in Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary by: *ādyantasya ādyantavataḥ brahmaṇaḥ...āsanam.* The Kāl. Pur. 34, 47 makes mention of a ship containing all kinds of seeds which is to make the three worlds increase:...*dhāriṇīṃ sarvabījānām bhuvanatrayavardhinīm.* In the same text 39, 151 we find : *tava mahādurgasya vai madhye vasato hy aparājite.* Kaṭh. Up. 4, 2 *te mṛtyor yānti vitatasya pāśam* which literally means " they walk into the noose of widespread death ", but no doubt stands for " they walk into the widely opened noose of death " constitutes an instance of the reverse movement: here the adjective agrees with the genitive dependent on the noun which logically should have been qualified as *vitata.*

There are also other curious transpositions of words which might be studied in the same connection. We, for instance, come across, Kāl. Pur. 62, 37 (cf. also st. 54): *itivṛttaṃ purā kalpe manoḥ svāyaṃbhuve 'ntare,* instead of *svāyambhuvor manvantare.* As Manu Svāyaṃbhuva is a name of considerable frequency one might ask oneself whether this text does not represent a case of ungrammatical brevity. In the same purāṇa 73, 40 it reads: *ghṛṣṭo malayajo gandhaḥ* (sic) which must mean: " perfume made of pounded sandal."

An adjective may in a comparable way belong to the former member of a compound: Mbh. 3, 299, 12...*kīrtivardhanam tad vai putraśataṃ jajñe,* but here the words : *śūrāṇām anivartinām,* which depend on *śatam,* follow. Kāl. Pur. 59, 116 *cintāmātreṇa mānuṣyam paśya śokavināśanam,* where *mānuṣyam* qualifies the substantive *śoka* " human sorrow ; grief of men ". Compare also Rām. 2, 28, 11 *supyate parṇaśayyāsu svayaṃbhagnāsu bhūtale,* where Rāma's commentary explains: *svayaṃbhagnāsu svayaṃpatitaśīrṇaparṇamayaśayyāsv iti yāvat.* Bhāsa, Vās. 1, 12 *bhūyiṣṭhaṃ kapilāni gokuladhanāni* " there is a great wealth of tawny kine ". Kathāsarits. 75, 140

śaśaṃsa ca kathāmadhye tat tasmai yat tadāśrayam |
saṃjñāvijñānakathanaṃ kṛtaṃ tena priyāntike ||

Here the compound *tadāśrayam* is to be connected with *samjñā* in *samjñāvijñānakathanam* " ... that he had told his beloved how he guessed the meaning of the signs which she made." In illustration of a closely related idiom Jaim. Br.

2, 16 can be adduced: *tad etat. sarvāṇi pṛṣṭhāny abhivadaty etena sāmanidhanena*, i.e. "...by the *nidhana* of this (to wit: the *rājana*) *sāman*".[1]

A curious passage is ṚV. 1, 77, 1 *kathā dāśemāgnáye kā́smai devájuṣṭocyate bhāmíne gī́ḥ*, which is translated by Geldner: "Wie sollen wir dem Agni opfern, welche Lobrede wird dem Strahlenden als gottgefällig vorgetragen?" ("How shall we honour Agni, which invocation is addressed to the radiant one so as to be agreeable to the god"). The literal rendering: "How should we honour Agni, to whom the invocation is addressed...?" would, indeed, be awkward, as the question regards the invocation, not the god who has already been mentioned.

ṚV. 2. 38, 5 constitutes a particular case: *ví tiṣṭhate prabhaváḥ śóko agnéḥ*, where *prabhavaḥ*, which as a rule is a substantive, may refer to the kindled and increasing fire. Although Sāyaṇa can be correct in explaining: *prabhavḥ prabhūtaḥ agneḥ śokaḥ tejaḥ* we could also hold these words to stand for: "the heat of the appearing or now increasing fire".[2]

ṚV. 1, 71, 4 *máthīd yád īm víbhṛto mātaríśvā* must be interpreted in such a way that *vibhṛta* "spread out, distributed" refers to Agni, for it is this divine power which is distributed over every house (see 5, 11, 4: *agním naro ví bharante gṛhé gṛhe*). Yet the poet has made the adjective to agree with Mātariśvan who, from the wood, produced the fire, which was to be distributed everywhere.[3] A similar case is ṚV. 3. 8, 5 *devayā́ vípra úd iyarti vā́cam*: here *devayāḥ* "going to the gods" logically speaking belongs to the voice which is pronounced by the wise men. The passage should therefore be translated as follows: "the inspired man raises his voice which is to go to the gods," or simply: "...addresses words to the gods". Compare 5, 76, 1 *úd víprāṇāṃ devayā́ vā́co asthuḥ*. ṚV. 1, 71, 4 and 3, 8, 5 we have an instance of

---

1. cf. Lokesh Chandra, *The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* II, 1-80, Utrecht, 1950, p. 36.

2. See also Geldner, *ṚV. übersetzt*, I, p. 325.

3. See Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*; I, p. 93 ; Bloomfield, *ṚV. Repetitions*, I, p. 91.

the so-called *persona-pro-re* construction, *i.e.* the rather frequent 'substitution' of the person performing, or taking part in, a process or owning being connected or concerned with, an object instead of the process or object itself; or, in a more extended sense: the tendency to qualify such a person by adjectives properly referring to an object or a process which relates to that person. Thus it is possible to say in French and other languages: "I am some minutes slow" instead of "my watch is some minutes slow".

Kāvya authors sometimes availed themselves of this construction: A striking instance is Kālidāsa, *Megh.* 47... *vraja paricitabhrūlatāvibhramāṇām,* ...... | .... *ātmabimbaṃ pātrīkurvan daśapuravadhūnetrakautūhalānām* "... proceed making your form an object of curiosity to the eyes of the ladies of Daśapura, which are well-acquainted with the sportive movements of their arched eye-brows." The commentator Vallabhadeva already observed: *yady api kautūhale viśeṣaṇāny etāni tathāpi vastubalāt tadvatāṃ netrāṇām evaite guṇāḥ.* The adjectives ending in *vibhramāṇām* and the two subsequent compounds are, indeed, intended to qualify the eyes of the ladies, but grammatically they correspond in case with the curiosity, which characterizes these eyes. Compare also Śākuntala 3, 9 *neyaṃ na vakṣyati manogatam ādhihetum* "it cannot be that she will not communicate the cause of her anxiety lying concealed in her heart", where the adjective might be connected with *ādhi.*

Interesting instances are ṚV. 10, 28, 3...*tūyān sunvanti somān* "they press out the quick soma juices" instead of "they quickly press out the soma juices"; and, perhaps, in a similar way 1, 4, 7 *em āśum āśave bhara* "for the swift bring the swift", or "swift" as an adverb, to be expressed with the verb.

II

In the remarks on his selections from Māhārāṣṭrī literature Jacobi observed that sometimes an adjective is, as an apposition, added to a substantive where an adverb would be expected.[1] Thus we find: *gao sammuho* "he ran across (him), he met him"; compare, in Sanskrit, Kathāsarits.

1. H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshṭrī*, Leipzig, 1886, § 84, p. LVII.

47, 87 *adhāvat...asya saṃmukhaḥ* beside Mārk. Pur. 108, 5 *jagāma saṃmukhe tasya*, etc. This construction which is also that of *pratyañc*-etc.—see *e.g.* Taitt. Br. 1, 1, 4, 4 *pratīcy eṣāṃ śrīr agāt* "their prosperity turned away from them"; ṚV. 2, 33, 2 *vi amīvās cātayasvā viṣūcīḥ* "drive away diseases in all directions", is well-known:[1]—cf. also ṚV. 2, 27, 12 *sa revān yāti prathamo rathena* "he goes, as a rich man, in front with his chariot": 1, 7, 10 *asmākam astu kevalaḥ* "he should exclusively be ours". ṚV. 1, 105, 4 we find: *kas tad bibharti nūtanaḥ*, where an English or German translation has an adverb. Similarly is Avestan: Yt. 5, 3 *yā amavaiti fratacaiti* "which flow forward powerfully".

Constructions like Nala. 20, 36 (=Mbh. 3, 72, 36) *ye ca tvāṃ manujā loke kīrtayiṣyanty atandritāḥ* "the men who shall praise assiduously"; 17, 46 (=Mbh. 3, 69, 46) *tathā kāryam atandritaiḥ* "(thus) you should bring about alertly" correspond to the Latin phrases *tristis incedo* "I go on in a sullen mood"; *periit miser* "he has miserably perished". And compare also Ṛgvidhāna 2, 1, 1 *siddhārthaḥ saṃnivartate* "he turns back successful"; Aśv. Saund. 3, 22 *niścalamatir aśayiṣṭa* "he lay down unhesitatingly"; or, to give a Pāli instance: Milindap. p. 29, 8 Ty. *vissattho bhadanto sallapatu* "let your reverence talk confidently (or "unrestrainedly" as Rhys Davids has it). Mbh. 3, 297, 59 *te cāpi sarve rājānaḥ...khyātās tvannāmadheyāś ca bhaviṣyantīha śāśvatāḥ* "and all those kings bearing your name will always (continually) be renowned." Aśv. Saund. 10, 63 *tad apramatto niyame samudyato ramasva* "abide diligently and zealously in the observances." An interesting passage is the above ṚV. 10, 28, 3...*tūyān sunvanti somān* "the quick soma juices" where we would say: "they press out quickly." Cf. also 1, 4, 7. A sentence like Bhagavadgītā 7, 3 *yatatām api siddhānām kaścin māṃ vetti tattvataḥ* "of those who strive and succeed scarcely one knows Me in truth" might therefore also be translated like this: "of those who strive successfully"......

In other cases a modern Western language would prefer an adverbial phrase or a subordinate clause instead of

1. I refer to Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, Halle a. S. 1888, p. 78f.

the Sanskrit adjective: Kathāsarits. 85, 11...*siddhābhīṣṭaḥ sa bhūpatiḥ...svanagarīmāyayau* "the king, whose wish was fulfilled, returned to his residence", or, rather, "now that his wish was fulfilled..."; "his wish being fulfilled...." The words *upakaṇṭhaniveśinī...svargataraṅgiṇī* (ibid. 75, 60) answer, in a comparable way, to our "the heavenly Gaṅgā in its neighbourhood."

In this connection attention should also be drawn to phrases like: Ratnāvalī 3, 55 *ahaṃ īdisī kaḍubhāsiṇī* "I am so given to bitter speech"; Kathāsarits. 77, 46 *īdṛśāḥ puruṣāḥ pāpāḥ* "so wicked men are!; men are so wicked!", although we could here, in order to express the emphatical force of the sentence, also say: "such are men: wicked!"; Nala 7, 16 (= Mbh. 3, 59, 16) *tām ... vilapantīm tathāvidhām | ...rājā nābhyabhāṣata kiṃcana*. The same idiom lies at the root of such constructions as Kāl. Pur. 70, 19 *pradakṣiṇatrayaṃ kṛtvā sādhako vartulākṛtiḥ* "the adept, turning a circle, made three añjalis."

The equivalence of Sanskrit demonstrative pronouns to English adverbs, already noticed by Speyer[1], is a result of the same tendency: AthV. 1, 29, 5 *ud asau sūryo agād ud idaṃ māmakaṃ vacaḥ* "there the sun has risen and here has my spell". Kālidāsa, Vikr. I, 13 *sūta idaṃ tacchailaśikharam* "charioteer, here is that mountain top".

The same phenomenon recurs in Greek and other languages where adjectives, especially when denoting a place or direction, a number, degree or manner, a relative position in a series, a relative place in time or space, an emotion or psychical disposition often appear in those cases where modern languages as a rule prefer adverbs, *e.g.*, in Latin: *Aeneas se matutinus agebat.*[2] Thus, Plautus, Rud, 1252 *suam quisque ibant divorsi domum* "each went away home" the adjective *divorsi* might be translated by "in various directions". Popular and colloquial speech has, however, not infrequently been tenacious of the old idiom, and in a comparatively conservative language like Lithuanian this

1. J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 202.

2. We might also compare Shakespeare, *As you Like It* I, 1, 34: *what prodigal portion have I spent...*, i.e. *what portion have I spent in prodigality*.

use of adjectives is not yet extinct. But in classical Latin the adverb was gradually winning ground, in contradistinction to popular authors and writers of inscriptions who continued using the adjective. It must be borne in mind that at an early stage adverbs were more rare in Indo-European languages than afterwards, and, further, that in the cases under consideration the adjectives were mainly predicatively used, or added, as complements or qualifiers, to verbs or to nouns connected with verbs. Unlike an adverb which often is a rather abstract and impersonal device, the adjective, expressing gender and number, and often intimately connected with the subject noun, is more suited to subjective, personal, concrete and graphic description. Hence the predilection for it in ancient idioms, colloquial and poetic language. It might be added that comparable phenomena occur in non-Indo-European languages.

In India the adjectival use of *pratyac*—"turned (towards), coming from behind, subsequent etc." ; *prathama* "first, initial, preceeding, previous, principal, etc." and similar adjectives always survived. It would therefore be interesting to sketch the development of this phenomenon in Middle and New Indo-Aryan.

A Scene from the Laotian Rāmāyaṇa Dance.

A Scene from the Laotian Rāmāyaṇa Dance.

INDIANISTIC RESEARCHES IN LAOS*

BY

HENRI DEYDIER †

Member, l'Ecole Fancaise d'Extreme-Orient

The outermost bastions of Indian civilisation against Chinese culture, Laos and its literature, are still mostly unknown. In spite of the admirable study by Finot, *Researches sur la litterature laotienne*[1] (Researches on Laotian literature) which did not go beyond the small circle of specialists and which has by and by fallen into oblivion, one can easily admit that the literature of Laos is not a pale reflection of that known in Siam or Cambodia.

Thanks to the intitiative of the Institute of Indian Civilisation of the Paris University and the French School of the Far East, a systematic exploration for Laotian literature was decided upon in April, 1950. The results obtained have largely exceeded even the most optimistic expectations.

A. The Rāmāyaṇa

(This section of Mr. Deydier's paper, except for its concluding paragraph, is omitted, as we have already reproduced in English his short article on this subject; see *JOR*, Madras, XXII. 64-66.—*Ed.*)

Thus Laos revealed four versions of the great classical poem of India. But more surprises were yet to come. The redaction of the Rāmāyaṇa was, in fact such, that it was not a matter of surprise if some traces of Indian civilisation were discovered in the land. But a manuscript with the title *P'ra kut P'ra Phan*, Kṛṣṇa versus Bāṇa, describing the well-known combat between Kṛṣṇa and Bāṇa for the lovely Uṣā, from the Bhāgavata, proves the importance of the Puranic literature in Laos. It may be possible to discover more texts, and Finot has already described a *Pañcatantra* and a text with the title *Rājasavanī* in which are found verses extracted from the Nītisāra of Kāmandakī.

---

* English version: K. V. Sarma.

† Melancholy interest attaches to this, one of the last contributions of this young scholar who unfortunately passed away recently. Elsewhere in this volume is an obituary note on him. *Ed.*

1. *Bulletin de l 'Ecole d'Extreme-Orient* XVII, 5

B. The Paṇṇasājātaka

It is known since long that the classical Jātaka had been the most popular text for the spread of Buddhism in the East. Since long several scholars have described the existence of an apocryphal version named *Paṇṇasājātaka*. None of the stories mentioned in this recension has been found in the classical text. Different savants have spoken of the existence of a manuscript of it in Burma, in Siam, in Cambodia and in Laos. That of Laos has the speciality of having twentyfive cantos not found in the other recensions.

According to Finot,[1] the Paṇṇasājātaka was considered as "an apocryphal collection in which Buddhist priests of Laos had collected together a large part of Indochinese folklore." The geography, the society, the personalities and the themes of the contents point out, on the contrary, that the Paṇṇasājātaka is only of Indian inspiration. We do not find a single local legend, no trace of Laotian customs or those of Thailand in this collection.

"The Buddhist canon is not an easy study," wrote Finot; "it discourages the zeal of even the most ardent scholar by its volume and intricateness. If the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma are comparatively limited, there is, as if to counteract that, the different doctrinal points studded throughout the four Nikāyas, not to speak of avoiding repetitions and filling up lacunae. It is a matter for consideration therefore to make available this *rudis indigestaque moles* either as abridged in the form of a resume, collecting together elements scattered in different parts of the doctrine, or at least to select from this voluminous book some interesting portions particularly on the spiritual life and practices of the community."

In fact the Paṇṇasājātaka justifies such considerations. We have to deal with the Sermons of the Buddha touching diverse points with the aid of history: for instance, to illustrate the principle of the results of Karma, to glorify filial piety, to remind the community of the rules, to tell the people of the episodes in the life of the Buddha or to explain the duties of the laymen to the Saṅgha.

Another aspect of the Paṇṇasājātaka is concerned with a number of tracts glorifying the merits acquired by making

1. Finot, loc. cit.

gifts to the community of which the most characteristic is the *Dasavatthu.* The finale of the manuscript sets out the merits and abundant favours acquired in gifting away the following ten objects: cooked rice, water, cloth, vehicles, flowers, perfumes, paints, dormitaries, houses and lamps.

The very same objects of almony are found in the stories of the Paṇṇasājātaka, particularly that from Vientaiane. This characteristic connects the Paṇṇasājātaka to another group of texts of intrinsic value, viz. those of *son.* The word *son* is an abbreviation for the Pali "*aṇisaṁsa*". The function of these small tracts is in fact, to explain to the monk and to the adherents the practical advantages of the different acts of piety. For instance, observance of *Śīla,* copying or reciting of sacred texts, gifting to the *Saṅgha* lands, residences, food and dress, offering on the alter of the Buddha flowers or lights, procured numerous merits. The stories of the Paṇṇasājātaka point to the same ends, especially to those which insist on the merits acquired in making gifts to the *Saṅgha.* The collection is thus a text of propaganda for the community.

Its compilation is very simple. The Buddhist priests have taken and translated entirely into Laotian a series of stories extracted from the classical Jātaka. They have also drawn their inspiration from the *Dhammapadattakathā* and have assimilated stories from the *Mullā Tantri,* the Laotian version of *Tantrākhāyika.*

But there is another book named, *Ha Sip xat, 'the Fifty Jātakas.'* Written in Laotian, it is much different from the Paṇṇasājātaka, because it does not concern itself with Indian stories drawn from the classical Buddhist texts, but on the contrary from the popular local stories bearing the stamp of Buddhism. This brings to light another problem of the Paṇṇasājātaka, that we have before us not only a unique Pali version of it and its Laotian redaction, but a series of texts having no connection to the two. The *Fifty Jātakas* of Laos thus presents two entirely different problems, the Pali Paṇṇasājātaka and the Laotian *Ha Sip xat.* A new field of research has thus been thrown open for Buddhistic studies.

C. The Sudhana-Jātaka

A new recension of this Jātaka unknown to Buddhist canon, but whose existence is attested in the *Mahāvastu,*

the *Divyāvadāna* and Tibetan and Khotanese texts, was discovered in a residence of the Phou-Noi in the province of Phongsaly (Upper Laos). Proto-Indochinese by population, the Phou-Noi are not known as such in the Upper Laos. Buddhism which is the official religion was partly introduced from Laos. In the religion of the Phou-Noi two tendencies are prominent: firstly the dominating influence of sorcery and ancient local traditions, and secondly the slow infiltration of Buddhism which tends to assimilate these traditions. The most characteristic event is the dance of the birds. This dance takes place once in eight or ten years. The dancers carry wooden masks, put on a pair of wings and a tail made of bamboo plaiting. They dance in the village to assure for it prosperity and a sumptuous harvest. According to the sorcerers the birds are the ancestors of the Phou-Noi; they are their fairy-protectors. Also the women of Phou-Noi are considered by Laotian women as female birds because of their indigo-blue costumes with white patches and white leggings. The popularity of these dances and this cult are such that the Buddhist monks, not being able to destroy it, try to assimilate it. These are the conclusions which Madame Lenthal has arrived at after secret enquiries at several villages in Phou-Noi.

The Laotians who came to this land and tried to convert the Phou-Noi to Buddhism, therefore, immediately adapted a Jātaka to this local custom and by teaching the *Sudhana-jātaka* they said that the dance of the birds was a commemoration of the flight of Manohara.

The Jātaka and this dance thus form a telling example of the assimilation of local customs in Buddhist texts and the former forms a basic document for the study of Buddhism at Laos.

D. The Horāśāstra

It is again in this province of Upper Laos that a manuscript named '*Horasat*' was discovered. This name is only the local parlance for the Sanskrit *Horāśāstra*. This text is a kind of collection of magic recipes, written without any sequence or order. It appears that these were collected at random from findings or observations on the days of fasting, to donn new dresses, to set out on a journey or to cut nails. Then occur the ritual to follow the expiation of misfortunes brought about by the rats, to construct a house and the prayer to be recited to call the spirit of rice at the end of the harvest.

Whatever be the purpose of the ritual, illness, bad omens or baneful dreams, the sum and substance of the ceremony to be performed at the house of the sorcerer is mostly the same. The officiating priest has a rectangular rostrum constructed of banana trunks, comprising of 4 or 6 or 8 or 9 divisions as the case may be. At the four corners are placed small sticks of bamboo with red or white paper or cloth in the shape of an oriflamme at their ends; these are the flags under which the *phi* or spirit is supposed to alight. Usually a certain number of oil lamps are then lit and the offerings are placed at different parts of the rostrum: bananas, sugarcane, arecanuts, betel, a sour soup, a sweet soup, sticky rice, a rice cake and flowers. When it is to ward off a bad omen a small figure of clay or earth is made to represent a cat or a human being or some other animal as the case may be. The sorcerer keeps on muttering a sacred chant. Usually this chant is set in Prākṛt. It begins with the invocation *Om Sravastī, Sathu* etc. and ends with *Om Svahaya.* It is interesting to ascertain if we have here typical Sanskrit terms and if the formule used against the local spirits of Phou-Noi are Indianistic. This fact would be of capital importance for the history of Indian influence in these regions.

Laos and India

The preliminary researches in Laos enable us to state that the country is full of deep Indian culture, especially Buddhist, which reached it through Cambodia. The study of *Pr'a Lak P'ra Lam* confirms this statement in all relevancy that Brahminism has exercised a very deep influence than is generally supposed.

But the speciality of the researches taken up since 1950 rests in the discovery of manuscripts, Buddhistic as well as Brahminical, not having any connection with the Indian civilisation of Cambodia, especially in the provinces of North Laos. These regions border upon the Sip Song Pan Na. This ancient kingdom of Tai extended across upper Burma and Laos and occupied a part of Western Yunan. This country acted as a big central passage during these centuries and in particular the point of relay for the highways which connected India and China.[1] There is nothing surprising if

1. Cf. Pelliot, *Two iterinaries from China to India,* BEFEO. VII.

these people received the influences coming from India through the intervention of Assam or through the Brahminic state of Manipur.

Moreover these recent discoveries carry with them new information which all Indianists are henceforth bound to take notice of in giving a more and more important place to Laos in the study of " The Greater India ".*

**Note.* On the *Sudhanajātaka* and the *Horasat* see the work of Madame David Lenthall in her communication to the Societie Asiatique, March, 1954.

ANCIENT HINDU CRIMINAL LAW*

BY

DR. LUDO ROCHER,

Belgian National Foundation for Scientific Research.

Before starting the discussion of the real subject a preliminary remark should be made about the term 'law' used in the title of this paper. Western people have come to know the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* under such titles as Bühler's 'The Laws of Manu'[1]. For the same Western people, however, this word *law* has a very strictly circumscribed connotation: a law to them is a prescription passed and voted upon in the one or two existing legislative assemblies, approved by the head of the state, be he a king or a president, and to be adhered to by the people immediately after its official publication. It should be remembered, then, that in Ancient India there was not such a separate concept as 'law'. What is called 'law' nowadays was merely a very small portion of the much more comprehensive doctrine of dharma. In view of this the learned Dr. P. V. Kane has done well to entitle his voluminous work, of which the fourth volume has been recently published, '*History of Dharmaśāstra*', adding in parentheses: '(ancient and medieval *religious and civil law*)'. Nevertheless if we use the term 'law', it simply means that this article is concerned with that part of the dharmaśāstra the contents of which correspond to the rules of conduct which in modern democracies are passed by the legislative assemblies.

It is of even greater importance, however, that the term 'criminal' which has been prefixed to 'law', be properly understood. In modern India a certain number of offences have been treated in the Act of 1860 which is known as the Indian Penal Code, whereas another set of cases which are now still treated according to the principles of Ancient

---

* Address at the Tenth Foundation Day celebrations of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, 18th Sept. 1954.

1. Cf. the French translation of Loiseleur-Deslongchamps as '*Lois de Manou*' (Paris, 1830), and Jolly's German translation as '*Die jurisitischen Abschnitte aus dem Gesetzbuch des Manu*' in Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, vol. 3-4 (1882-83).

Hindu Law, will probably very soon be enumerated in the Hindu Code, as soon as Parliament passes the Hindu Code Bill. In most other modern countries, too, the simultaneous existence of a Penal Code and a Civil Code has created a sharp distinction between civil and penal wrongs or between civil and criminal law. The object of this paper is an attempt to make out whether the same distinction also existed in the ancient Hindu Law or dharmaśāstra.

In order to do this, we first of all have to define the term 'crime' and to enumerate the characteristics which distinguish it from the ordinary civil wrong. Much has been written on this subject, but in view of the purpose of this paper I think we may overlook all discussions on minor points and define a crime as follows: If I do not pay a debt to my creditor, I certainly cause him to suffer a financial loss, and this entitles him to appeal to certain authorities appointed for that purpose. Independent judges will hear his plaint, and I will be summoned in order that I too may bring forward all arguments to my defence. In the court my creditor himself is my opponent. The court will pass a written judgment whose primary aim will be the indemnification of my creditor's loss, and it will make over this document to executive officers who will force me to act according to the judge's decision. It is, however, up to my creditor and to him only, to decide whether he should bring the matter before the court or not. The loss he undergoes is limited to his own person; no one else in society suffers from my failure of payment, and if my creditor does not complain with the judges, no one will take action against me. I will not be summoned to appear in the court, and no judgment whatsoever will be passed against me. On the other hand, if I commit manslaughter or if I seriously injure my enemy, the reaction will be completely different. In this case it does not matter whether no victim or his relatives complain before the judges or not. Even if the victim does not want to do so, certain public officers will make up a report *ex officio* and action will be taken against me. As before, I will be summoned before the judges, but in this case the opponent in the court is not my victim but society itself represented by a public prosecutor. The victim will be heard as a witness only. In many modern systems of law the victim does not obtain any indemnification at all if he omits to appoint a representative ***ad hoc*** who expressly asks for it during the trial. This request

may be accepted by the court or not, but even if it is, it only forms a secondary part of the judgment. The main concern of the latter is to fix the adequate action to be taken in the name of society against an act which is considered an encroachment on its well-being or, as it is technically called, a trespass on law and order.

I have given these two examples to show that according to modern conceptions some offences are considered especially serious, to such an extent that they inflict damage not only on the individual himself but on society as a whole. Against such offences society takes action *suo motu* even in the absence of an individual plaintiff or even against his will. Such offences are generally called 'crimes'. With these considerations in mind, when I found the following footnote in the 11th edition of Mayne's *Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage* (p. 12):

> 'In the Mauryan age, there were two classes of courts, the Dharmasthiya courts for the administration of civil justice and the Kantakasodhana courts for the trial of offences and crimes',

I was surprised to learn that a distinction which I had previously thought to be a modern one was mentioned as applicable to the time of the Mauryas. Therefore I thought it might be worth while to consult the ancient texts on this matter.

In the ancient texts the subject of vivāda or 'substantial law' (as we would call it now, in contrast with vyavahāra or 'adjective law') is subdivided into a number of topics or vivādapadāni. The exact number slightly varies in the different texts[2] and sometimes reaches twentytwo such as in Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, but by far the most authoritative enumeration is the eighteenfold subdivision of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* which is as follows:

1. ṛṇādāna: either non-payment of debts or recovery of debts according to the analysis of the tatpuruṣa-compound as ṛṇa-adāna or ṛṇa-ādāna.
2. nikṣepa: deposit.
3. asvāmivikraya: sale by a person who is not the owner of the thing sold.
4. saṃbhūyasamutthāna: joint undertakings.

2. Cf. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* III, p. 249.

5. dattasyānapākarma: resumption of gift.
6. vetanādāna: non-payment of wages.
7. saṃvidvyatikrama: breach of contract.
8. krayavikrayānuśaya: rescission of sale and purchase.
9. svāmipālavivāda: disputes concerning the owner and the guardian of cattle.
10. sīmāvivāda: boundary-disputes.
11. vākpāruṣya: insult.
12. daṇḍapāruṣya: assault.
13. steya: theft.
14. sāhasa: which we will leave untranslated for the moment.
15. strīsaṃgrahaṇa: adultery.
16. strīpuṃdharma: duties of husband and wife.
17. vibhāga: partition and inheritance.
18. dyūtasamāhvaya: gambling and betting.

For the moment it would serve no purpose to mention the minor details by which this enumeration of the Mānavadharmaśāstra differs from those in *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, *Nāradasmṛti*, *Bṛhaspatismṛti*, etc. In view of the note quoted from Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, however, a few words ought to be said regarding a similar subdivision found in the *Kauṭilīyārthaśāstra.* In this work the whole of the third adhikaraṇa is devoted to the cases to be treated by the so-called dharmasthīya-courts, and with only a few slight deviations, which are irrelevant here, this book covers all vivādapadas treated in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* as mentioned before. The fourth adhikaraṇa, on the other hand, enumerates another series of cases to be treated by the kaṇṭakaśodhana-courts. We will not go into the character of the latter here, but with regard to the third adhikaraṇa, viz. the cases to be treated before the dharmasthīya-courts, it should be said that it also includes such items as theft, physical injury, etc.[3], which are now certainly considered as real crimes. It is, therefore, definitely impossible to maintain

3. K. P. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya* (1930), p. 116, correctly stresses the fact that the dharmasthīya-courts treat all cases coming under the vyavahāra law. I therefore fail to see how he can reconcile this with another statement on the same page concerning the kaṇṭakaśodhana-courts, viz. 'They were Criminal Courts.'

that the distinction between dharmasthīya-courts and kaṇṭaka-śodhana-courts in Kauṭilya corresponds to the criterion civil law-criminal law.

Let us, then, try to detect other distinctions made by the ancient texts. Among the verses of the *Kātyāyanasmṛti* collected by Dr. P. V. Kane[4] one goes as follows:

साध्यवादस्य मूलं स्याद् वादिना यन्निवेदितम् ।
देयाप्रदानं हिंसा चेत्युत्थानद्वयमुच्यते ॥ (30)

"The root of litigation is that which is mentioned by the plaintiff; there are two sources of legal procedure, viz. non-rendition of what is due and physical injury."

Another verse of Kātyāyana to the same effect runs as follows:

उत्पादयति यो हिंसां देयं वा न प्रयच्छति ।
याचमानाय दौःशिल्याद् आकृष्योऽसौ नृपाज्ञया ॥ (28)

"He who causes physical injury or he who for wickedness does not give back what he owes when his creditor asks for it is to be brought into court by order of the king."

Dr. Kane, both in his edition of Kātyāyana (p. 123) and in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (III, p. 259), says that 'here there is a clear distinction made between civil disputes (arthamūla or dhanamūla) and criminal cases (hiṃsāmūla)'. In other words: the distinction between cases relating to the party's property and cases referring to his person would correspond to the distinction civil law versus criminal law.

Let us first look into the collection of verses from the *Bṛhaspatismṛti* collected by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar[5]. Not only do we find the same division of vivādapadas into cases referring to one's property and cases referring to one's self:

द्विपादो व्यवहारः स्यात् धनहिंसासमुद्भवः । (1.9ab)

but it is also said that the former include fourteen topics whereas the latter include only four:

द्विसप्तकोऽर्थमूलस्तु हिंसामूलश्चतुर्विधः । (1.9cd)

The fourteen topics referring to one's wealth are: kusīda, nidhi, adeya, saṃbhūyotthāna, bhṛtyādāna, aśuśrūṣā, bhūvāda,

4. *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra* or *Kātyāyanasmṛti* on Vyavahāra.
5. *Bṛhaspatismṛti* (*Reconstructed*), Baroda 1941.

asvāmivikraya, krayavikrayānuśaya, samayātikrama, strīpuṃsaṃyoga, steya, dāyabhāga, and akṣavedana. And the four topics relating to one's body are: vākpāruṣya, daṇḍapāruṣya, sāhasa or vadha, and parastrīsaṃgraha. Judging from this enumeration of the topics in the two groups I must confess that this subdivision comes very close to the distinction between civil and criminal law, but at least one important restriction should be made. Not only chapter XVII of the Indian Penal Code, but as far as I know, most other Penal Codes contain a chapter on 'Offences against Property,' and the most important among these 'Offences against Property,' viz. theft, which accordingly belongs to the dhanamūlavivādas in the enumeration of Bṛhaspati, would then be a civil matter only.

If we remember the statement that only the more dangerous types of offences are called 'crimes,' it might then look as if Ancient Hindu Law did not consider theft a very serious offence, since it is one of the modern crimes ranged among the civil wrongs. This conception would, however, be very wrong, and I want to give here a few examples to show how serious an offence theft was considered. The treatment of theft in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* starts as follows:

परमं यत्नमातिष्ठेत् स्तेनानां निग्रहे नृपः ।
स्तेनानां निग्रहादस्य यशो राष्ट्रं च वर्धते ॥ (8.301)

"The king should exert himself to the utmost to punish thieves; for, if he punishes thieves, his fame grows and his kingdom prospers."

In the frame of the general context of the 8th adhyāya this परमं यत्नं or 'utmost exertion' is to be interpreted in such a way that the king should exert himself more with regard to punishing thieves than with regard to punishing any of the other offences mentioned before and, thus, also more than with regard to vākpāruṣya and daṇḍapāruṣya which are treated immediately before theft. This way of stressing the necessity of punishing theft in particular has induced Prof. Louis Renou to make the following statement: 'Le vol est le delit type, dont la description sert de base au reste'.[6]

---

6. *La civilisation de L'Inde ancienne*, p. 117: 'Theft is the typical crime whose description serves as a basis for the others.'

That theft is really considered a very important crime, especially in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, is obvious, not only from the verse quoted before, but also from the ampleness with which it has been treated in this most important among the dharmaśāstras. In the 8th adhyāya the topic of theft is introduced by a number of general rules enumerating the merits acquired by the king when he punishes thieves adequately and the sin he incurs when he fails to do so, and immediately after this follow the punishments for a number of specific thefts. But this is not all. In the 9th adhyāya the treatment of the eighteen vivādapadas concludes with the following verse:

उदितोऽयं विस्तरशो मिथो विवदमानयोः ।
अष्टादशसु मार्गेषु व्यवहारस्य निर्णयः ॥

This verse, number 250 of the 9th adhyāya, should be expected to conclude the long chapter on the vivādapadas which was introduced at the beginning of the 8th adhyāya with the verse:

प्रत्यहं देशदृष्टैश्च शास्त्रदृष्टैश्च हेतुभिः ।
अष्टादशसु मार्गेषु निबद्धानि पृथक् पृथक् ॥ (8. 2)

But much to our surprise, after this concluding verse, another elaborate treatment of theft follows. It is not the place to go into this inconsistency here, but I think a careful comparison of both passages on theft and a comparison also with other ancient texts on this subject will enable me to throw some light on the structure of the 8th and 9th adhyāyas of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*. As a matter of fact, these adhyāyas contain a few other such inconsistencies in their structure all of which may be due to the same cause.

After this short deviation on the problem of the structure of the 8th and 9th adhyāyas of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, let us now return to our main subject. It remains an undisputed fact that the treatment of theft has played a very important part in the ancient dharmaśāstra literature, to such an extent even that it quite correctly gave rise to such comments as that of Professor Renou quoted before. If we had no other material than this, it might even look as if the dharmaśāstras did not draw the distinction between civil and criminal law at all, but that simply one crime was considered separately as being so much more important that it could be contrasted with all other crimes and civil wrongs taken

together. However, the fact is that it was not theft which was considered as the very highest possible offence, as might be inferred from the verse of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* already quoted. Further on in the same adhyāya the following verse if found:

वाग्दुष्टात्तस्कराच्चैव दण्डेनैव च हिंसतः ।
साहसस्य नरः कर्ता विज्ञेयः पापकृत्तमः ॥ (8. 345)

According to this verse, the sin incurred by him who commits what is called a sāhasa is greater than (1) the sin of a vāgduṣṭa, i.e., the person who commits vākpāruṣya; (2) the sin of a taskara or a thief; (3) the sin incurred by a person who commits daṇḍena hiṃsā, which according to the commentators in nothing but another name for daṇḍapāruṣya.

This verse is particularly interesting and important for our subject, and it is so in different respects. First of all it distinctly separates one particular offence from all others, and it does so because it is more serious than any other one. The sin connected with sāhasa is greater than that connected with any other offence. This point is further explained in the two verses which immediately follow. It is said that the king who pardons the perpetrator of a sāhasa quickly perishes and iucurs hatred (8. 346). And the next verse is as follows:

न मित्रकारणाद्राजा विपुलाद्वा धनागमात् ।
समुत्सृजेत् साहसिकान् सर्वभूतभयावहान् ॥ (8. 347)

Here we see, that the king should not let go perpetrators of sāhasa neither for friendship nor for a great increase of wealth. And the verse explicitly qualifies those perpetrators of sāhasa as सर्वभूतभयावहान् : the perpetrators of sāhasa cause terror to all citizens. In other words, the result of a sāhasa is looked upon not so much from the point of view of the damage caused to the individual victim, but more so from the standpoint of the damage done by it to all citizens, i.e. to society as a whole. If we would translate the adjective सर्वभूतभयावहान् very freely, we would say that the perpetrator of a sāhasa disturbs law and order. And thus we have traced back in the Ancient Hindu Law one of the great characteristics of the modern 'crime.'

But the same verse of Manu (8. 345) is also important in another respect. Strictly speaking it does not separate sāhasa

as being more dangerous than any other vivādapada, but it distinctly says that sāhasa is more dangerous than vākpāruṣya, steya, and dāṇḍapāruṣya only. Why does the author not say that the perpetrator of sāhasa commits a greater sin than the perpetrators of all seventeen other vivādapadas, but only a greater sin than three among the seventeen? The answer is obvious. Among the eighteen vivādapadas four are more serious than the other fourteen, and these four are vākpāruṣya, steya, daṇḍapāruṣya, and sāhasa. But again among these four, sāhasa surpasses the others. In other words, according to the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* three layers should be distinguished in the eighteen vivādapadas: (1) the ordinary offences, such as non-payment of debts, etc.; (2) above these: vākpāruṣya, daṇḍapāruṣya, and steya; (3) at the top: sāhasa.

Now that we have thus established the special place attributed to sāhasa, it may not be without interest to look into the definition of this term and the contents covered by it. This will indeed provide us with some very interesting data with regard to the concept of criminal law in the ancient texts. In his translation of Vācaspati Miśra's *Vivādacintāmaṇi*[7] the late Dr. Gaganātha Jhā at the beginning of the chapter on sāhasa prefixes a note in which he says that 'There is some confusion in the use of this term sāhasa'. This confusion exists indeed, and I will now try to explain what it consists of. It has already been mentioned that in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* sāhasa is one of the eighteen vivādapadas or 'titles of law', just as non-payment of debts, etc., vākpāruṣya, daṇḍapāruṣya, and steya. And with some slight modifications the same can be said about similar distinctions by Kauṭilya, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Bṛhaspati, etc. Accordingly, in nearly all dharmanibandhas too, one will find a separate chapter devoted to sāhasa, just as one finds one on non-payment of debts, and on vākpāruṣya, daṇḍapāruṣya, steya, etc.

If we look into that part of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* (8. 344) which by commentators like Kullūkabhaṭṭa is introduced as इदानीं साहसमाह—, 'now he discusses sāhasa', we do not find any definition of sāhasa at all. The definition of sāhasa which is most commonly used by the later authors of dharmanibandhas is the one found in the *Nāradasmṛti*:

---

7. The *Vivādachintāmaṇi of Vāchaspati Mishra, Translated into English* by Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Baroda 1942, p. 136.

सहसा क्रियते कर्म यत्किञ्चिद्बलदर्पितैः ।
तत्साहसमिति प्रोक्तं सहो बलमिहोच्यते ॥ (14. 1)

"Whatever act is performed by force (sahas) by persons proud of their strength is called sāhasa: sahas (force) means strength in this world".

It should be noted that even this definition is rather vague: the words 'whatever act is performed by force' are indeed open to different interpretations, and consequently in the nibandhas not always identical subjects are treated under this heading.

We saw, that in the very portion on sāhasa no definition has been given in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*. But if we look back in the section on theft, we find the punishment for stealing grains, vegetables, roots and fruits prescribed as follows:

परिपूतेषु धान्येषु शाकमूलफलेषु च ।
निरन्वये शतं दण्डः सान्वयेऽर्धशतं दमः ॥ (8.331)

That is: The punishment for stealing husked grain, vegetables, roots and fruits is twofold: (1) hundred paṇas when the theft is niranvaya, and (2) ardhaśata (cf. infra) when the theft is sānvaya. These terms niranvaya and sānvaya have been given differnt interpretations, but before going into that I should like to quote the next verse:

स्यात् साहसं त्वन्वयवत् प्रसभं कर्म यत्कृतम् ।
निरन्वयं भवेत् स्तेयं हृत्वापव्ययते च यत् ॥ (8.332)

"This act, *viz.* of taking away grains, etc., if done anvayavat and with force (prasabha) is called sāhasa; if done niranvaya and if denied, it is called steya".

From this verse it is clear, that sāhasa and steya can cover the same acts under different circumstances: (1) if the act is committed forcibly or violently (prasabha) and anvayavat or sānvaya, it is called sāhasa; (2) if it is done niranvaya and if the act is denied, it is called steya. The distinction could, therefore, easily be drawn if the interpretation of the opposite terms sānvaya and niranvaya was clear. But, as said before, the commentators themselves are at variance here. Thus, Medhātithi, the earliest commentator on the Mānavadharmaśāstra, gives three possible interpretations:

(1) अन्वयोऽनुनयः स्वामिनः प्रीत्यादिप्रयोगः । यत् त्वदीयं तन्मदीयमेवेत्यनया बुद्धयाहं प्रवृत्तो, न चेदेवं तद्गृहाण इत्येवमादिवचनं तद्यत्र न क्रियते तन्निरन्वयम् ।

According to this first interpretation anvaya is a conciliatory or a propitiatory statement, an appeal on the affection towards the owner. The thief defends himself as follows: 'I have acted under the impression that what is yours is really mine; if this is not the case, then take it back'. The thief, who behaves thus, has not committed a theft but a sāhasa.

(2) The second intepretation according to Medhātithi is as follows:

येन सह कश्चिदपि सम्बन्धो नास्त्येकग्रामवासादिः ।

Therefore the act is niranvaya, and therefore theft, if between both parties there is no connection whatsoever, such as residence in the same village, etc. And on the other hand, the act would be sāhasa when there is such a connection.

(3) And the third interpretation mentioned by Medhātithi is:

अनारक्षं निरन्वयम् । सति तु रक्षके उभयापराधादल्पो दण्डः ।

Niranvaya means 'unguarded', whereas sānvaya means 'in the presence of a guardian', in which latter case the guilt is to be divided between the perpetrator of the sāhasa and the guardian.

The same verse of Manu is further found in most dharmanibandhas, but their interpretations, though differently worded, can all be ranged under one of the three mentioned. Against all these interpretations, however, a common objection should be raised. In the second of the two verses under consideration (8. 332) it could not be stated more clearly, that sāhasa is the act committed sānvaya or anvayavat, whereas steya is the act committed niranvaya. Let us now again consider the punishment prescribed in the verse referring to the taking away of grains, etc.:

निरन्वये शतं दण्डः सान्वयेऽर्धशतं दमः ।

Again it is clear, that (1) when there is no anvaya, *i.e.*, in case of theft, the punishment should be śata, *i.e.*, hundred paṇas, and (2) when there is anvaya, *i.e.*, in case of sāhasa, the punishment should be ardhaśata. Now, all commentators

invariably have understood the word ardhaśata as meaning fifty. In this way the crime with anvaya (*i.e.*, sāhasa), which is to be punished with fifty paṇas, is less serious than the crime when committed without anvaya (*i.e.*, steya), for which the punishment is hundred paṇas. And it is this interpretation of ardhaśata as fifty which accounts for all three of Medhātithi's interpretations of sānvaya and niranvaya: all of them try to depict sānvaya, *i.e.*, sāhasa, in such a way that it becomes less serious than niranvaya, *i.e.*, steya. In the first interpretation sāhasa is less serious, because the perpetrator acted under the impression that he too, was entitled to the object. In the second interpretation, again, in the case of sāhasa there is some close connection between perpetrator and victim which makes the offence less serious than in cases where such connection is absent. And in the third interpretation, in the case of a sāhasa part of the guilt is attributed to the guardian who was incapable of preventing the offence.

It is against this interpretation of ardhaśata and therefore against that of sānvaya and niranvaya that I feel obliged to take exception. Indeed, by their interpretation of ardhaśata as fifty the commentators have created a contradiction in the Mānavadharmaśāstra which is actually not there. At this point it should be remembered that in Manu 8. 345 it is explicitly said, that sāhasa is more serious than theft. And nevertheless with regard to the taking away of grains, etc., the commentators make sāhasa less serious than steya. This contradiction is unnecessary: the only thing to be changed is the interpretation of ardhaśata. It is not fifty that is meant here, but rather one hundred and fifty. In this way the punishment for sāhasa becomes more severe than the punishment for theft.

If it is questioned whether this interpretation is permissible, no better argument can be adduced than another verse from the Mānavadharmaśāstra itself:

शतं ब्राह्मणमाक्रुश्य क्षत्रियो दण्डमर्हति ।
वैश्योऽप्यर्धशतं द्वे वा शूद्रस्तु वधमर्हति ॥ (8. 267)

For insulting a brāhmaṇa the following punishments are prescribed: (1) for a kṣatriya: 100; (2) for a vaiśya: ardhaśata or 200; (3) for a śūdra: capital punishment. Here the gradation of the punishments undoubtedly is: 100, ardhaśata, 200,

and capital punishment. That means: 100, 150 (not 50), 200 and capital punishment.

The real difference, then, between sāhasa and theft is as follows: (1) Sāhasa requires anvaya and prasabhaṃ karma. Anvaya here means: 'in the presence of the owner'. It goes without saying that the owner, when present, will not permit the thief to take away his property without some attempt on his part to prevent the theft. Before carrying off his booty the thief will have to break the owner's resistance, and thus the offence inevitably becomes a prasabhaṃ karma. This whole crime is called sāhasa. (2) If, on the other hand, the owner or his guardian is absent, *i.e.*, niranvaye, the element of violence is unnecessary, and the offence is a mere steya.

The latter argumentation, although deviating from the main subject, at least has shown that in the ancient texts sāhasa, let us say 'violence', and steya or 'theft' have been considered as very closely related, to such an extent that it was possible for commentators to interchange their respective values. Compare in this respect, *e.g.*, the definition of sāhasa in *Yājñavalkya* where sāhasa is merely described as theft committed under certain circumstances:

सामान्यद्रव्यप्रसभहरणात् साहसं स्मृतम् । (2. 230ab)

In other words: an offence is called sāhasa, because it consists in violently taking away sāmānyadravya, which according to the Mitākṣarā stands for property held in common with other people and for property belonging to other people only.

We have now come very close to the final step in our inquiry into the existence in Ancient Hindu Law of something equivalent to the modern 'criminal law'; let us, however, first recapitulate the results obtained thus far. Firstly, in connection with one among the eighteen vivādapadas, viz. sāhasa, we have learned that it is more serious than three other ones, viz. vākpāruṣya, daṇḍapāruṣya, and steya, which in their turn are more serious than the fourteen remaining offences. Sāhasa is not only more serious than all of them, but the fact that it is dangerous to law and order is one of the fundamental characteristics ascribed to it. And secondly, another vivādapada, viz. theft has been closely connected with sāhasa, so closely that there was not always a sharp distinction made between them.

This confusion of steya and sāhasa has gone so far that one may vainly look for steya in the enumeration of the eighteen vivādapadas as it is found in the *Nāradasmṛti*. It is true that a chapter on theft is found in an appendix to the *Nāradasmṛti* about which Dr. Jolly has said[8] that 'There is every reason to consider it as the genuine production of Nārada, or whoever else was the author of the *Nāradasmṛti*.' I agree with Dr. Jolly that this additional chapter on theft must be very old, since the nibandhakāras quote from it as well as they do from the main *Nāradasmṛti*, and as a matter of fact it also occurs in the shorter recension of the *Nāradasmṛti* known as the *Nāradīyamanusaṃhitā*[9]. This is not the place to go into this subject, but I should only like to call to mind the fact mentioned before, viz. that even in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* the treatment of theft shows some inconsistency. There theft was treated as a separate vivādapada, but nevertheless after the description of the eighteen vivādapadas formally closes, another discussion of theft starts. And this *kind* of appendix in Manu closely corresponds to the *real* appendix in Nārada. A careful comparison of these two appendices on the same subject strongly led me, to think of later additions in both texts[10]. For the original author of the *Nāradasmṛti* the syncretion of steya and sāhasa was a fact, and his description of sāhasa also intends to cover theft at the same time[11].

8. Edition of the *Nāradasmṛti*, p. (6).

9. Edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, no. 97.

10. This reasoning differs from Jolly's (*Nāradasmṛti*, p. (6)): in his opinion the close correspondence of the Appendix in Nārada and the chapter in the 9th adhyāya of Manu pleads for the authenticity of the former. It also differs from Kane's (*History of Dharmaśāstra* I, p. 198) who thinks that 'Nārada follows Manu...in treating of theft after the eighteen titles have been dealt with.'

11. Compare in this respect, e.g., the contents of Nārada's chapter on sāhasa as given by Asahāya on Nārada Mātṛkā 1. 24:

साहसे

(1)	साहसलक्षणम् ।	(2)	साहसदण्डाविधानम् ।
(3)	आधिच्छलस्तेयम् ।	(4)	क्षुद्रद्रव्यमध्यमोत्तमाविधानम् ।
(5-6)	द्विविधतस्करलक्षणम् ।	(7)	तस्करस्य व्यवकर्षणम् ।
(8)	भक्तावकाशदानादि ।	(9)	चौरविधिः ।

But in the mind of the author of the *Nāradasmṛti* not only was theft covered by sāhasa but at the time of the *Nāradasmṛti* the meaning of sāhasa had even become broader than that, so as to imply other vivādapadas also. This will bring us now to the second meaning of sāhasa which I already referred to before. After the general definition of sāhasa quoted above (14. 1), in the next verse we find the following subdivision:

मनुष्यमारणं स्तेयं परदाराभिमर्शनम् ।
पारुष्यं द्विविधं ज्ञेयं साहसं च चतुर्विधम् ॥ (14. 2)

In other words, the genus sāhasa covers the following species:

manuṣyamāraṇa	:	manslaughter
steya	:	theft
paradārābhimarśana	:	adultery
pāruṣyaṃ dvividham	:	vākpāruṣya and daṇḍapāruṣya.

There is no doubt about the close relationship between the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* and the *Nāradasmṛti*. Not only is this fact stated in the introduction to the Nāradasmṛti itself, but it has also been repeated by all scholars who have studied both texts. If the author of the *Nāradaṣmṛti* extended the content of the term sāhasa to other vivādapadas, he must have done so because in his opinion all of these shared in that special characteristic of sāhasa mentioned before, viz. that manslaughter, theft, adultery, insult, and assault are more than offences against individuals, and all of them are sarvabhūtabhayāvaha, i.e., they disturb law and order. In short, all of them are crimes.

As far as we know, the author of the Nāradasmṛti was the first one to group these offences formally and explicitly under one heading. Nevertheless even as early as the Mānavadharmaśāstra some traces of this grouping are present to show the way to Nārada. First of all, vākpāruṣya, daṇḍapāruṣya sāhasa and strīsaṃgrahaṇa form one group in Manu's enumeration of the vivādapadas at the outset of the adhyāya:

---

(10) साहसस्तेयदण्डः । (11) पदेन चौरान्वेषणविधिः ।
(12) चौरोभावे चौरादिद्रव्यापनयनं चेति द्वादश भेदाः ।

पारुष्ये दण्डवाचिके ।

स्तेयं च साहसं चैव स्त्रीसंग्रहणमेव च ॥ (8. 6bcd)

Except for a minor detail, viz. that in the uddeśa or enumeration daṇḍapāruṣya precedes vākpāruṣya, whereas in the course of the book this order has been inverted, which inversion the commentators try to explain away very ingeniously, all these—let us call them 'criminal cases'—are treated uninterruptedly for 120 ślokas (8. 266-385). But not only this: after these 120 verses and before taking up a different subject, we find the following recapitulation which applies to all 120 verses as a whole:

यस्य स्तेनः पुरे नास्ति नान्यस्त्रीगो न दुष्टवाक् ।
न साहसिकदण्डघ्नौ स राजा शक्रलोकभाक् ॥ (8. 386)
एतेषां निग्रहो राज्ञः पञ्चानां विषये स्वके ।
साम्राज्यकृत् सजात्येषु लोके चैव यशस्करः ॥ (8. 387)

"That king in whose town there is no thief, no adulterer, no defamer, no man guilty or violence, and no committer of assault, attains the world of Indra. The suppression of those five in his dominions secures for a king paramount sovereignty among his peers and fame in the world."

In the dharmanibandhas here and there we find hints at this broader sense of sāhasa as contrasted with the other fourteen vivādapadas. In general, however, it can be said that most dharmanibandhas treat the eighteen vivadapadas one by one without ranging vākpāruṣya, steya, and strīsaṃgrahaṇa together under one heading sāhasa. But among the dharmanibandhas there are a few exceptions, in which the 'criminal' vivādapadas are the only ones discussed.

To be mentioned in this respect is, *e.g.*, Keśava Paṇḍita's *Daṇḍanīti*[12], a very late work, since the author flourished as recently as the second half of the 18th century A.D. After an introductory chapter containing the usual eulogy of Daṇḍa, the following subjects are treated: cauryadaṇḍaḥ, strīsaṃgrahaṇadaṇḍaḥ, vakpāruṣye daṇḍaḥ, daṇḍapāruṣye daṇḍaḥ, and kevalasāhase daṇḍaḥ. Here again we find exactly those vivādapadas which were ranged under the term sāhasa in the *Nāradasmṛti*. Special attention should, however, be drawn to the last chapter entitled kevalasāhasa, i.e.,

12. Edited by V. S. Bendrey, Poona 1943.

sāhasa in its narrower sense. From this addition of the qualification kevala it is evident that the author was aware that, after all, his whole book dealt with sāhasa in the broader sense. At the beginning of this chapter on kevalasāhasa the author quotes Nārada's definition, and then adds: 'Although the element sāhasa is also present in theft, insult, assault, and adultery, it is treated separately here, because in so far as an offence is based on the application of taking pride in the violence, the punishment should be higher.'

More important than this *Daṇḍanīti* is another 'criminal dharmanibandha,' called *Daṇḍaviveka*[13], which was written by Vardhamāna near the end of the 15th century A.D. (not to be confused with the son of Gaṅgeśa, the author of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*). Not only does this text contain the most exhaustive treatment of criminal law I have come upon thus far, but there is an extremely important passage in it which deserves to be translated here. The author, Vardhamāna, actually accounts for the fact that he treats only a limited number of vivādapadas, and he tries to lay down criteria which distinguish these vivādapadas from the others which are not dealt with in his treatise. He first enumerates his topics, and for that purpose slightly modifies the verse in which Nārada gave his fourfold subdivision of sāhasa:

मनुष्यमारणं स्तेयं परदाराभिमर्शनम् ।
द्वे पारुष्ये प्रकीर्णं च दण्डस्थानानि षड् विदुः ॥ (p. 32, 3-4)

People recognize six bases of punishment: manslaughter, theft, adultery, insult, assault, and then he adds a number six, prakīrṇa, which we have not met so far, and about which, therefore, a few words will have to be added afterwards.

On this verse, then, Vardhamāna gives his own commentary. In the usual way of argumentation he starts with an objection (ākṣepa): nanu...iti cet. The objector says: *whenever* a dispute comes into court, it is *always* based on greed, folly, and the like, and one of the parties is to be sentenced either for a false plaint or for a false denial. Therefore, punishment is to be inflicted in all cases, including those vivādapadas which are not treated here. But Vardhamāna rejects this objection: only those offences are enumerated here, the perpetrators of which are brought to court even

13. Edited by Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, Baroda 1931.

without a plaintiff: they are found out by spies and arrested by the king's servants. And this is the case only with manslaughter etc., but not with non-payment of debts, etc. In other words: those who perpetrate the offences treated in the Daṇḍaviveka are brought to court even without their opponent doing so.

Vardhamāna continues: secondly, the other vivādapadas such as non-payment of debts are no offences by themselves; they only become so if they are denied. That means: as long as you acknowledge that you owe money to your creditor, you do not commit any offence, and the judge can only force you to payment but he cannot inflict any other punishment. He can only do so when the debt is denied.

The third distinction, according to Vardhamāna, is as follows. In the case of manslaughter and the like the person found out to have committed the crime is summoned to court in order to be punished for the wrong he has committed; the treatment of the case before the judges has as its only purpose the fixing of the amount of punishment. In the case of non-payment of debts and the like, on the other hand, the debtor is summoned to court in order to decide whether he really contracted the debt or not. Even if he did, he is punished only if he denies this.

And the fourth and last distinction is as follows: Manslaughter and the like are necessarily accompanied by a malicious disposition of the mind and, thus, they highly outdo the other offences which may have been committed by mistake only. Consequently they are more likely to terrorize other people in society and they deserve to be punished more severely.

In this passage from the *Daṇḍaviveka* we undoubtedly are confronted with an excellent description of a crime, and although originally—as concieved by Nārada—the constituents of sāhasa, even in its broader sense, did not cover many topics which one would, *e.g.*, find in the Indian Penal Code, the contents of the *Daṇḍaviveka* have become such that one would hardly fail to trace in it any crime mentioned in the modern Penal Code.

It was the chapter on prakīrṇaka or 'Miscellaneous' which made it possible for the author of the Daṇḍaviveka to cover many types of crimes which could not find their place

under the traditional headings. Such a chapter existed in the *Kauṭilīyārthaśāstra*; it does not appear, at least not in name, in the Mānavadharmaśāstra and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, but from Nārada onward it always forms the last vivādapada, and most nibandhas also follow this tradition.

As is clear from its mere name, 'Miscellaneous', this title was used to cover many and various subjects. The definition generally used by the authors of the nibandhas is taken from the *Nāradasmṛti*:

प्रकीर्णके पुनर्ज्ञेयो व्यवहारो नृपाश्रयः । (18. 1ab)

Then follow three full ślokas enumerating some specific offences, which may be omitted here, and the definition concludes with these words:

न दृष्टं यच्च पूर्वेषु तत्सर्वं स्यात्प्रकीर्णके ॥ (18. 4 cd)

This latter verse is clear: "and whatever has not been discussed under the other headings shall find its place in the chapter called Miscellaneous". This needs no further explanation as it serves the very purpose of the chapter. The first verse, (18. 1 ab), however is more difficult to understand: 'Under Miscellaneous should be reckoned that kind of trial which is nṛpāśraya', literally, which is based on the king. It is impossible here to go into the different interpretations given to this term, and therefore I will limit myself to the interpretation on the basis of the *Daṇḍaviveka*, which has come closest to the heart of the matter. Vardhamāna says the following (pp. 259-260): Manslaughter and other crimes were actually also 'based on the king' in so far as the perpetrator is summoned to court by the king's officers, even if the victim of the crime does not do so. But nevertheless, in the court the victim also is given the opportunity to set out his case. It is only after having heard both perpetrator and victim that the offender is punished by the king. In an offence 'based on the king' on the other hand, there is really no other victim than the king himself, since the offence is actually directed against the king. Thus no other party can be heard except the king's spies and officers who have caught the offender. This absence of a plaintiff must have been considered a very important characteristic, since in the *Bṛhaspatismṛti* it is used to contrast the chapter 'Miscellaneous' with all other vivādapadas which are vādikṛta:

एष वादिकृतः प्रोक्तो व्यवहारः समासतः ।
नृपाश्रयं प्रवक्ष्यामि व्यवहारं प्रकीर्णकम् ॥ (29. 1)

"Thus far has been expounded the type of trial in which both parties set forth their standpoints; now I will explain the kind of trial called Miscellaneous which is based on the king."

For Nārada this Prakīrṇaka must have been an adequate outlet for covering so many offences which in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* are scattered all over the 8th and 9th adhyāyas, within the regular scheme of the eighteen vivādapadas. One of the subjects to be covered is offences against the king or, as we would say, offences against the State, which are different from the sāhasas as well as from the other offences. Nārada gives a few additional examples, and vaguely concludes: 'And whatever has not been discussed under the other headings shall also find its place in the chapter called Miscellaneous'. This sentence was intended to include all kinds of offences which do not fall under any of the seventeen vivādapadas discussed in the preceding chapters.

What I should like to show is that in the time of the dharmaśāstras Prakīrṇaka was separate from all other vivādapadas and, therefore, was not a part of criminal law only. The first of these 'Miscellaneous Offences,' however, viz. offences against the king, happens to be a very serious one which also disturbs law and order, and therefore the author of the Daṇḍaviveka thought it necessary to include it in his manual of criminal law. But not only did he include the offences against the State, which are only one out of many miscellaneous offences; he included the title 'Miscellaneous Offences' itself as a whole, and in this way was able to range under it many other crimes not covered by sāhasa even when taken in its broader sense. The author of the *Daṇḍaviveka* has thus limited the term Prakīrṇaka, which traditionally meant 'Miscellaneous offences' in general, to Miscellaneous 'Crimes' only.

CENTRAL THEME OF THE THERAGĀTHA

BY

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI, *Santiniketan*.

When the Buddha, in the wake of his acquiring the true wisdom, resolved to disseminate his new message of peace to his fellow workers and other needy persons, they warmly greeted him and took reverently the message as their spiritual guide. And those persons who ardently acted upon his preaching became equally worthy of their Master. While realizing the supreme goal of their spiritual life, they gave expression of their joyful feelings over their successful career and passage over the eversurging currents of misery. These expressions have been collected by their later followers under the title *Theragāthā*, the book of poems of the spiritually advanced disciples of the Buddha. In giving out their feelings they not only express their gratitude to their Master, but in return undertake the mission of the Master, to propogate his message of peace. The poems are therefore doubly interesting to us, for they not only narrate the disciples' personal biographical notes and other particulars of some of the contemporary events, but they disclose also the true picture of the doctrines that the Buddha preached in those days. We shall endeavour in the following pages to find out what the Elders, Theras, portray in some of the early parts of their poems.

The Buddha proclaimed to his followers that the *Summum bonum* of his creed is not something to be rewarded in the future life only but it is to be realized also now and within the life-time of this mortal body. This feature distinguishes his creed pre-eminently from the other religious movements of the time and served as a factor to bring within the fold of his creed people of all ranks in large numbers. Such an entering into his creed was technically termed *Pabbajjā*, "leaving the world" or *Nekhamma*, "renunciation".

Forest Life: Persons once admitted in the Order preferred to live perfectly detached from all the affairs of the worldly tangles and dwell joyfully and peacefully in the range of mountains and forests, so much so that they burst into

praise in a very highly descriptive tone of the scenic beauty of the mountains and forests of their choice. Their graphic descriptions of the scenary are so superb and charming that one is tempted to consider their out-pourings as specimens of early Indian poetic literature. One Thera speaks out: My body stays at the hamlet but my mind runs after the forest (ver. 14). (Cp. Kālidāsa, *Śākuntala*, I.: गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्तुतं चेतः।) The chequered beauty of the forest scenary is nicely painted in the poem of Mahakassapa, one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha, (read his verses: 1062-1069). Another Thera reveals his predilection for the lonely life: "Some are charmed by the sweet sound of *Mṛdaṅga*, lute and *paṇava* drum, but I dwell entranced by the Buddha's Rule under the shadow of my tree." (ver. 467). Two more Theras, Vakkali and Nhātaka, declare their firm determination before their Master: "I shall dwell in the jungle" (ver. 350-54; 435-40). The wordly pleasures are generally spoken of as kāmaguṇas in Buddhist literature including the Theragāthā (ver. 455). They are condemned by them as a source of disgust and disturbed state of mind, and hence they are grouped under the category of things to be avoided by the followers of the Buddhist Order (ver. 98, 794-803). So Theras are quite indifferent towards the wordly pleasures (ver. 155-6); e.g. Adhimutta's attitude towards the wordly pleasures (ver. 155--6). Adhimutta's attitude towards the mundane happiness and household life has found a beautiful expression in this line: He who has attained the supreme by the way of Dhamma, is seeking nothing to win all the world over, and as if escaping from the house which is burning, never grieves over death (712). The expression *adittā va gharā mutta* is a happy fore-runner of Kālidāsa's description of the house-simile in Śākuntala. (cf. जनाकीर्णं मन्ये हुतवहपरीतं गृहमिव).

It is Godatta who says about persons detached from the worldly ties that they are neither elated at gain nor depressed at loss, and so also are they unaffected by fame or praise and ill-fame or blame (ver. 664). Another Thera Sambulakaccana proclaims that he has no fear, creeping dread or quailing of soul while dwelling in a fearsome rocky dell and in spite of the clouds raining and roaring; that is the law in the blessed Norm (*dhammatā esā*) (ver. 190).

Aim of forest life. The sole purpose of leaving the world is, as stated in a majority of the poems, to destroy the deadly passions in accordance with the Master's admonition and to become eternally freed from the machination of the Māra's snare. That state is severally designated in the book both in positive and negative terms. It is the supreme purpose (*Sadattha*) for which they leave the world (380, 605, 688, 793). That purpose is said to be achieved when they are able to destroy the deadly sins (*āsavakkaya*) or passions (*kilesa*) which are the sole cause of all miseries. The passions are variously described as Kāma (254), Saṅkappa (675, 760), Vitakka (50) and Cola (=āvaraṇa, vestiments) (170). Theras are also said to have destroyed the cravings from the root (298), the net of the craving (306), the factor of the wordly existence (*bhavanetti*) (881, 891), dart of the cravings (514), and the root of the cancerous lump (306) (*vippotito gaṇḍamūla*). But no process of getting the mind rid of passions is proscribed, it appears. Theras strove very hard to secure the end. Sappadāsa, e.g., strove for over 25 years to tame his mind and was prepared to commit even suicide cutting his throat by knife, "when arose a deeper thought, attention to the fact and to the cause, the misery of it all was manifest, distaste and indifference the mind possessed, and so my mind was set at liberty" (405-410). There are also some monks who were able to secure it in a moment's time. The moment they set their mind at liberty, they become Arahants, worthy of honours (296, 336, 516). The removal of passions from the mind is severally stated as *Sadattha*, the supreme object (332), *anuttara-visuddhi*, the ultimate purification (415), paramasukha, "supreme bliss" (884) etc. For other synonyms see Rhys Davids, Appendix II, pp. 420-422.

The familiar and apt simile for the release of mind is a mighty fire that has spent itself and having no fuel died down and its smouldering ashes are extinguishing when men say that the fire is now extinct (702). The extinction of fire while unfed or in water is also cited as illustration (906, 415). The destruction of the deadly sins (*āsavakkhaya*) which one can secure here in this life constitutes the first and foremost aim of the ascetic life in the *Theri* and *Thara-gāthās*. The passions which are described as burning sparks of fire being removed or extinguished, one becomes cooled (*Sītībhūta*) and gone out of all fire within, *Nibbuta* (79, 298, 416.).

Gotama-thera defines Nibbāna as a status reaching which one grieves no more (138, cp. 68). The mental status of the person who has cast off all passions is beautifully summed up in this stanza: "In whom the intoxicants (*āsava*) are dried up, whose happiness depends not on food, whose domain of thought is in release (*vimokkha*) (i.e. from intoxicants), untouched by any mark, and in the void: his destiny (i.e. re-birth) is hard to track like the flight of birds in air." (92).[1] The mental reaction of a person when he reached the cherished goal, viz. extinction of passion, is also briefly stated thus: "I dally not with the thought of death; nor yet delight in living. I await the hour like any hireling who has done his task; and I await the hour with mind discerning and with heedfulness" (606-7, 654-5, 685-6). The following deliberations of the Thera Adhimutta are also noteworthy here: "All things soever which have come to be, and all re-birth wherever it is got, nowhere therein is a personal design—So has the mighty Sage declared to us. And he who knows that things are even so, as it is taught by the Buddha, no more would he take hold of any form of birth than he would grasp a redhot iron ball. The thought comes not to me, 'tis I have been, nor comes that thought, what shall I next become; Sankhāras, phenomenal things (= 5 groups constituting a person) will pass away; therefore what ground for lamentations here" (713-15). The word Sankhāra here may better be interpreted just in the same manner as in the phrase *Sankhārūpasamam Sukham* (ver. 11). The culminating line of this poem is more philosophically worded: They (robbers) reached the goal: *Nibhānapadam asankhatam* (725).

That the person in this state is absolutely metamorphosed into virtuous qualities is made clear from Anuruddha's poem: "He is mindful, having few desires, contentedly serene and never upset, delighting in seclusion, blithe of heart, ever strenuous; his qualities are good and such as belong to enlighten-

---

1. All the quotations cited in this paper from the *Theragāthā* are from Mrs. Rhys David's English translation, *Psalms of the Brethren* (1913), with appropriate changes of mine.

यस्सासवा परिक्खीणा आहारे च अनिस्सितो ।
सुञ्ञतो अनिमित्तो च विमोक्खो यस्स गोचरो ।
आकासे व सकुन्तानं पदं तस्स दुरन्नयं ति ॥

ment and he is sane and immune, said the Great Seer" (899-900).

Triple lore. Almost every Thera ends the narration of his career with the statement that he has attained the triple lore and thus fulfiled what the Buddha bid him (*e.g.*, 117). This feature is also met with in the Therīgāthā. The triple lore which is sometimes mentioned by name consists of: (1) knowledge of previous births, (2) divine eye and (3) destruction of intoxicants (*āsava*). The last item is sometimes termed as *Sadattha,* supreme purpose (332) and sometimes as *Araha,* worthy (516). These three are said to be effected in order in three successive periods of the night by Sunitha Elder (627) as it was the case with the Buddha. Of the three lores the last one alone is the factor that constitutes one Arahan. Frequent reference to it in the poem expressly or implicitly will certainly testify to this point. The release of the mind so often mentioned is no other than this last item of triple lore. We may here note profitably the confession of Sāriputra; "I have won release, am sane, immune; not to attain the vision of my past, nor for the means to see—the divine eye—the mystic power to read the thoughts of men and discern decease, rebirth in earth and heaven,[2] etc." (996-7). This statement makes it obvious that the destruction of passions, otherwise termed the release of mind is very important and the sole factor that turns a person into one worthy, Arahan. The moment one realizes the release of mind from the cravings, he becomes aware that he is no more to undergo rebirth in the world. Awareness of these two facts, *viz.*, the knowledge of release and the knowledge of no more rebirth really constitutes Bodhi, the highest wisdom. Vasubandhu has very aptly echoed this idea in his Kośa, VI. 68.[3]

Possession of the triple lore is however stressed in the Thera and Therīgāthā as elsewhere in order to elucidate the point that those elders alone that have reached the goal under the Buddha's

---

2. तं मे अमोघं सवनं विमुत्तो म्हि अनासवो ।
नेव पुब्बेनिवासाय न पि दिब्बस्स चक्खुनो ।
चेतोपरियाय इद्धिया चुतिया उपत्तिया ।
सोतधातुविसुद्धिया पणिधी मे न विज्जति ॥

3. क्षयानुत्पादयोर्ज्ञानं बोधिः.........

guidance are truly *Tevijja,* adepts in three branches of knowledge and not the followers of Brahmanism. But this gaining of triple lore must have been stressed in Buddhism only subsequently when the campaign was started for propagation of that religion combating Brahmanism and adopting at the same time the nomenclature of the rival camp. The Buddha addresses his disciples by the appellation " Brāhman," see Pslam, p. 255. The Elders, therefore declare themselves as true Brāhmaṇas. Note verse 221:—Previously I was but a son born of a Brāhman, but now I am true Brāhman, well versed in triple lore, graduate, consecrate by sacremental bathing;[4] cp. also ver. 889. Vasabha Thera says:[5] "None is Brāhman judged by outward colour; but he is Brāhman by inner hue" (140). Note also the verse defining the true character of a Brāhman: "Faith, effort, concentration, mindfulness and wisdom plying, out-smiting five by other five, the Brāhman goes released from flaws." (745). The master addressess Sunīta Thera in these words: "By discipline of holy life (*Brahmacarya*), restraint and mastery of self: hereby a man is holy Brāhman, this is supreme holiness, *Brahmacarya* (631).[6]

Another important item of borrowing from Brahmanism is the word Brahmacarya. It is imported with a new conception. In Vedic religion it conveyed the period of Vedic studies. But Buddha gave it a new import, viz. holy life under his own dispensation after renouncing the world. This renunciation period is reckoned in Brahmanism as a last stage of life and assigned generally to the old age. Buddhism assigns no particular period for renunciation and holy life, *Brahmacariyam akālikam* (837). Theras are, therefore, not literally aged monks; there are many Theras younger in age. Renunciation in an early period of life is also admitted in Brahmanism. A Vedic passage e.g. says that the day one entertains no desire

---

4. ब्रह्मबन्धु पुरे आसिं इदानि खोम्हि ब्राह्मणो ।
तेविज्जो न्हातको चम्हि सोत्थियो चम्हि वेदगू ति ॥

5. न ब्राह्मणो बहिवण्णो अन्तोवण्णो हि ब्राह्मणो ।

6. तपेन ब्रह्मचरियेन संयमेन दमेन च ।
एतेन ब्राह्मणो होति एतं ब्राह्मणमुत्तमं ति ।

for worldly pleasure, he may renounce the world.[7] But if one renounces the world, he does it for all time and never returns to the world again. Buddhism, on the other hand, approves that one may so return. It may be pointed further that Buddhist Brahmacarya may roughly correspond to the Vedic Naiṣṭhika Brahmacarya which is to be continued until death optionally after Vedic studies. The resultant fruit of this Brahmanic holy life is said to be gaining the Brahmā world or companionship with the God Brahmā (*v.* Gautama Dh. Sūtra, 3, 9). This opinion is often referred to and criticised in Buddha's discourses (e.g. Digh. I, 235).

Buddha. We find no distinction in the early days of Buddhism between the Buddha and his disciples in regard to spiritual progress and no trace of the full-fledged Buddhology of later period is available in these poems. Yet the Theras respect him as their revered teacher (Satthā) and express their satisfaction that they have served their teacher, *paricinno mayā satthā* (604, 792, 918, 891, 687), and fulfilled his command, etc. Though they regard him as a human being, *Manussabhūta* (689), they nevertheless, respect him as an extraordinary being: *aparimithdassī* (19), *upāyakusala* (158), *atuladassana* (288). *Udayi Thera* says that even Gods salute him (690).

Decadence of Buddhism. We have so far spoken of the state of Buddhism when the Buddha was walking among the Elders. We may now take note how the monks fared at their Master's passing away. It appears that after the passing away of their Master they were greatly engrossed in worldly pleasures and negligent of pursuing the strict secluded and vigilant asceticism. It is attested by Pārāpariya's poem (ver. 921-948), where the Thera describes in contrast the state of affairs available at the Buddha's time and thereafter. He compares "how the conduct of Brethren changed since when Master was yet abiding on the earth." The monks sought raiment to shield them from chilly winds, to hide what should be hid, no more they sought and enjoyed contentedly whatever came. They partook the food, excellent or poor, to keep life going. They did not care fervently in acquiring the life's requisites and medicine as they did to destroy poisons

7. cf. यदहरेव विरजेत् तदहरेव प्रव्रजेत् । quoted by Haradatta in his comm. on Āpas. II, 21, 8.

of the mind (921-24). "Now those Elders wholly passed away. From dearth of good dharmas and insight (paññā) the conqueror's Rule crumbles and wears away. The monks of this day increase their passions, mingle with many folk and, I think, they play with fools. They quarrel amongst themselves, forsaking quite the blessed Dhamma. They eat until they are replete, they lie supine; they while awake discourse concerning matters which the Master blamed. They highly rate and practise all acts and handicrafts. In drug-purveying they are like doctors and in business matters like house-holders; like courtezans they parade their gear and play the lord like any noble squire. Seeking livelihood by cunning craft they draw together plenteous store of wealth. They preach Dhamma to others for the sake of gain, not for the good. Thus there are some who with head shaved and yellow robe yearn all the while to be revered and hanker after favours, treats and gifts. And now it is not an easy thing as it was then, either to touch and win what is the unattained or hold fast what has been touched and won." It will be evident from these remarks that the Buddhist Order had not kept up its perfect original purity and that it had fallen from the path laid down by the Master.

Another Thera named Phussa also prophesied a similar deterioration in the conduct of the monks in the days to come (951 ff.). He lays bare the nature of deterioration as follows: "Hasty of temper and malign, arrogant, hypocritical, deceitful, envious, bickerous, thus many shall be in those days. The ill-discerning will accept in days to come silver, gold, fields, sites and herds, slaves, maids and men. Hair sleek with oil, and frivolous mien, and eyelids dyed with collyrium and swathed in robe in ivory hue, thus will they go about the streets. They will become greedy of gains, sluggish and poor in energy. They will abide around townships, finding fatigue in woodland haunts. They will follow those who got most gifts. But they to whom no gifts are given, will find no honour, nor regard. Though they may be men of worth and charm, none will respect them. Some will wear red of foreign dye, scorning their own yellow gear. Others will be found to wear white robes of some sectarian flag. They will show dishonour towards the yellow robe." Now the Elder Phussa points out in this connection who is worthy of saffron robe, to which subject he devotes about five verses.

And then he says in conclusion: "Thus in the age that is to come will be the course and tendencies of Bhikkhus and Bhikkhuṇis." His advice to his contemporary fellow monks is that "until that period of dread that is not yet come to pass let the monks be of gentle and docile hearts and be strenuous and bent upon the goal." That the Elder Phussa's words came true is well attested by the conditions available in these days.

We have so far seen that the immediate disciples of the Buddha were more keen about their keeping up the strict ascetic and forest life, and effecting an absolute release of the mind. They were never engrossed in what we may term philosophical speculations, which mostly engaged the attention of the monks of the subsequent days. It is, therefore, quite a misnomer to call the early Buddhism, i.e., the Buddhism of the Master and his immediate disciples, as a Religion of the City. It has been shown that the immediate disciples of the Buddha were quite forest-minded and solely bent on setting their mind at liberty from evil and deadly passions. Though the idea of the triple lore looms large in the utterances of the Elders, nevertheless the last lore, i.e., the sense of mental release and eternal stopping of rebirth, it is pointed out, constitutes the real wisdom, *Bodhi*. So this period may appropriately be termed "the period of the Release, *Vimutti*," in confirmity with tradition.

A SURVEY OF EPIGRAPHICAL MATERIALS FOUND AT SARNATH

BY

ADRIS BANERJI, *National Museum, New Delhi.*

The excavations at Sarnath, ancient Migadava, since 1798, have yielded epigraphical materials of great value, whose implications have not been fully appreciated in the scholarly circle of India. No doubt they lack in magnificence and quantity, compared to the series of imperial and royal sealings found in the mediaeval University of Nalanda, nevertheless, for quality and information they supply for the history of India, the epigraphs of the site has yet to be surpassed. Commencing from the Mauryan period upto the Turki deluge in the 12th century of the Christian era, they appear continuously, as it were, illumining those very dark chapters of ancient Indian History, which had not been forthcoming from any other sources or site. It is a pity that the place was excavated at a period when the methodology of field excavations had made so little progress. It had even yielded pots with rice set on ovens, in an age, which was more concerned with statues and images; and did not consider it worthwhile, to preserve such remarkable evidences, of the unfortunate end of the site. It is noteworthy that a place which has been subjected to repeated vandalism and misguided but well meant amateur attention has yielded so great a quantity.

MAURYAN PERIOD

Our task must commence with the famous Special edict of Emperor Aśoka inscribed on a pillar. No student of epigraphy can escape the inevitable issue, that the aim and object of this Special Pillar edict, copies of which were also inscribed on the Kosam and Sanchi pillars, has been insufficiently appreciated. No doubt the acute nature of schism was responsible for this. The points have been fully dealt with by me elsewhere and need not be recapitulated.[1] Palaeographically the Sarnath edict belongs to the north-eastern

1. Schism and Sarnath—*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Seventh session, Madras, pp. 90 ff.

variety of the older Mauryan alphabets, an admirable account of which occurs in Dr. G. Buhler's *Indische Palaeographie,* supplemented by the labours of late R. D. Banerji.[1] To the later Mauryan period may be ascribed the *ex-voto* records inscribed on the fragments of railing belonging to this period exhumed by Mr. H. Hargreaves in 1914-15. The only correction that requires to be made is in the note by late Dr. Hirananda Sastri when he calls these *disjecta-membra* as "fragments of polished capitals." The internal evidence as supplied by the records themselves go to show that they were parts of pillars etc., of a railing. For example, inscription No. III has the reading *thaṁbho.* Again inscription No. VII has the reading *'Sugutāya-thaṁbho dānaṁ.'* The same is the case with inscriptions Nos. IX and XII. These votive records clarify further two other points. That the social collective goodwill in the erection of monuments, which, we once thought, was the characteristic feature of the Buddhist church art of the Śuṅga period, commenced actually in late Mauryan period, if not earlier. The second point is that, these records along with those in the Daśaratha cave happen to be the few specimens of the later Mauryan Script.

ŚUNGA AND POST ŚUNGA PERIOD

The excavations at Sarnath have also yielded a few records of the second century B.C.[2] These are the pillars [D(a)13-14] of Sarnath Museum being the gifts of Siha and Jaṁteyika as well as Sonadeva.[3] There is another piece being the gift of Bharini and another [D (a) 16].

Thirtytwo years ago R. D. Banerji opined that "no inscription which can be safely assigned to the 1st century B. C. or A. D. has been found anywhere in north-eastern India, except at Sarnath."[4] This is indeed no high compliment to the character and quality of the Sarnath epigraphs. These are:—

(i) Inscription on the lower horizontal bar of the stone railing surrounding a brick *stūpa* with fragment of the stamp of an umbrella on its top in the southern chapel of the main shrine after defacing an earlier record with the result that in

---

1. *R. D. Banerji—Origin of the Bengali Script,* p. 10.
2. The issue has been dealt with in the proceedings of *IHC,*
3. *R. D. Banerji—Op. cit.* p. 18.
4. *Ibid,* p. 16.

one and the same inscription we have characters of two different centuries, the dates being first century B. C. and second century.

(ii) The second record also incised on the base of the same Mauryan monolithic railing belong to the 1st century B.C.[1]

(iii) The third inscription was inscribed on one of the Mauryan monolithic steps leading to the sunken circumbulatory passage of the *Dharmmarājikā Stūpa* after having defaced an earlier record in the characters of the 1st century B.C.

All these records mention the *Sarvvāstivādin* sect, testifying, that these conservation works were carried on by this sect when they had sufficient control over the site.

(iv) The slightly defaced inscription of Rājña Aśvaghosha on the edict-bearing pillar of Aśoka and another fragment in the museum.

The principal characteristics of these records are the total absence of any difference from the forms of the character of the first and second century B.C., found in the north-western India. A general shortening of the vertical lines, angularisation of carved strokes and in the case of medial vowel signs, cursiveness of the angular forms of the older Mauryan Brahmi are met with.

KUSHANA PERIOD

Of the Kushaṇa period we have the three inscriptions of Friar Bala inscribed on the pedestal, back of the image and staff of the huge umbrella, established on the promenade ground of Lord Buddha at Sarnath.[2] The second inscription was inscribed on an umbrella, a fragment of which has survived [D (C) 11]. This is probably the only inscription so far found in India in which Pali language has been used and the text is '*ārya-sachchāni*', the four great truths.[3] Palaeographically they belong to the eastern variety of the north-eastern alphabet of the Kushaṇa age of an earlier period.

The transition period between the Kushaṇa and Gupta period in Eastern India is represented by a small *ex-voto*

1. The whole matter has been discussed by me in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*

2. *Epigraphia Indica,* vol. viii pp. 173 ff.

3. *Catalogue of Antiquities of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath, p.* 230.

record on the base of a smaller image at Sarnath having the following text:—[1]

D (e) yadha [r] mmo=yam vi..........
Svāmi Skandava [r] ṇṇa [sya]..........

The characters are of *C.* 300 A.D. The principal importance of this insignificant votive record lies not so much in its contents but the contribution it makes in determining the beginnings of the Banaras school of sculptures. The fifth century of the christian era was destined to witness a revolutionary change in the history of plastic activity in ancient India. We know that the Gupta age at Banaras evolved a new type of Buddha without folds of the drapery and other differentiating features.[2] Yet the very commencing stages elude our search and subjectivity hangs as an oppresive burden in the determination of the style. This type of image had made great appeal to Buddhists in India and outside; and images made in this way are met with in the countries from Burma to China.[3] This damaged votive record therefore supplies us that very objective data which was lacking. The epithet (*Svāmi*) is intriguing, as it is not met with in the epigraphs in north-eastern India, but in the records of the Śaka Kshatrapas of western India, such as Svāmi Jivadaman, Svāmi Rudradaman and Svāmi Chashṭana. It is quite possible that Skandavarṇa was not an Indian but a Śaka.

At this time the Asoka pillar received the third record on it:

"Ācha[ā][ri]yyanaṁ parigrāhe Vātsiputrikānaṁ."

Homage of the elders of the Vatsiputriya [sammitiya] sect.

GUPTA PERIOD

The records which belong to the Gupta period, found in excavations at Sarnath, are remarkable indeed for their quality and quantity. The information supplied by them are not only original but have raised problems which are far from settled. Some of the terms used in them, which will be discussed by me when dealing with important individual records, have defied the efforts of many distinguished Sanskritists and

1. B (b) 1.
2. Cf. Gupta sculpture in Banaras—A study—*B. C. Law Volume*, pt. i, pp. 504 ff.
3. Influences of Banaras Art, '*Nehru Birthday Book*' pp. 514-28.

their implications are still far from clear. These records are generally divisible into two groups, first historical and second purely votive. The most important of these are:

(i) On the pedestal of an image established by Abhayamitra in the year 154 of the Gupta era in the reign of Kumāragupta II. The late Y. R. Gupte's suggestion, that Kumāragupta was the governor of Banaras, is gratuitious, and does not require any comment.[1]

(ii) Next comes the image inscription dated in 157 Gupta era, when Budhagupta was the reigning monarch. This indeed is the first record testifying to the existence of this Gupta monarch and the alleged quick succession of kings to the ancient imperial throne at Pāṭalīputra after Emperor Skandagupta. It also testifies to the fact that an uncle succeeded the nephew. Only few corrections are suggested by me to the existing text of the first inscription. In line 3, the late Y. R. Gupte read *chitravidyā sachitritaṁ* I would read it as *chitra—vinayasya-chitritaṁ.* We know that painting of images of stone, clay or stucco was a well-known practice in Gupta times and here is probably direct reference to it. In line 2 occurs the term "*uddhasta*". Gupte forgot to translate it. Sahni suggested it to be "*uddaṇḍa*".[2] It is probably "*urddhvahasta*" and refers to the *abhaya-mudrā.*

(iii) The second inscription has the same text:—

1. [Guptānāṁ samatikkrāntē [sa]pta-[paṅñchāśa] d-uttare śate samānāṁ pṛithivīṁ Budhagu[ptē] praśāsati || Vaiśākha-māsa-saptamyāṁ mu[le]... ....
2. [mayā || karit = Ābhayamitrēna] pratimā Śā-[kyabhikshanā||] imam...chchhattra-padm [āsana]-vibhu[sh]i[tā]ṁ | De[va]putra[va]to di[vyāṁ]
3. [chitravidyā-sa]......matā-pittroȓ=guruṇā[ṁ cha] to[kasya] cha śāmā...... ||

In this text I would like to offer some amendments. The date as read by Gupte leaves much room for doubt. At the end of line 1, he reads '*Mule śyāmā-gate*' and translates as: 'dark fort

1. *AR., ASI.,* 1914-15 No. xv, pp. 124, pl. lxiii (b).
2. *Ibid,* pp. 125-26, pl, lxix (p).

night when the lunar mansion was Mūla (*nakshatra*?)'. Actually this is an astonomical absurdity. On the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha the *nakshatra* ought to be 'Śravaṇa' or thereabouts and not Mūla. The mention of *saptamī* first and then the fortnight by an obscure term *śyāmā* as has been done, does not seem to be convincing.[1] The image was found in the open courtyard to the east of the main shrine. Is it possible that it read '*mūla-gandha-kuṭyāṁ*.' Unfortunately however after my departure for Nalanda, the inscription received portions of cement plastering when the platform was being replastered. I hope to restore it in the near future.[2]

Two sealings with the legend in the characters of *C*. 500—600 A. D. of baked clay is extremely interesting. They read:—

1. Śrī-Saddha[rmma-cha]kkre
2. Śrī Mūlagandha-kuṭyāṁ bhaga
3. vata[ḥ][3]

The name also occurs in an earlier votive record of a monk named Kīrtti [D (a) 16].

MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

The most important record of the early mediaeval times is to be found on the pedestal of an image which has totally disappeared. It is dated on 11th day of Pausha, V. S. 1183. It states that in the time of Mahīpāla, king of Gauḍa, the two brothers Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla having erected the temples of Śiva and Durgā in the sacred city of Banaras, made the Dharmmachakra along with Dharmmarājikām as if new and completely renovated the *Gandhakuṭim*. The record was originally noticed by Wilford;[4] then by Cunningham (*ASR*; vol. iii, p. 114 ff; vol. xi. p. 182). E. Hultzsch discussed it in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. xiv, p. 139 ff.) and finally Vogel.[5] The *Dharmmarājikāṁ* is undoubtedly our Jagat

1. These suggestions were made to me by the late K.N. Dikshit in 1944, on the eve of his retirement from the Archaeological Department.
2. *Ibid* p. 126-27, Pl.
3. *Ibid* p. 127.
4. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 203-205; vol. x, pp. 129-133.
5. *AR, ASI.*, 1904-05, p. 66; p. 91, no. 3, p. 103, inscription No. xi.

Singh stupa; but the identity of *Dharmmachakra* and *Gandhakuṭi* remains doubtful. We have seen previously that D (a) 16 refers to the establishment of a lamp post in the '*Mūla-gandha-kuṭi*'. What is more important, sealing No. F (d) 4 of the *Catalogue* refers to:

1. *Śrī Saddharmachakrē mūlagandha-kuṭyāṁ Bhagavata[h]*.[1]

We have also seen that according to our suggested reading Abhaya-mitra refers possibly to the erection of the image in the neighbourhood of '*Mūla-gandha-kuṭi*'. Therefore there is great possibility of the present 'Main shrine' being known by that name. The term 'Dharmmachakra' will be explained later on to avoid unnecessary repetetions. There is still another tantalising question before us. This is the term "*ashṭa mahāsthāna-śailo*" qualifying '*gandha-kuṭi.*' The real implications of these adjectives still escape our comprehension.

The identity and the family of two royal princes also remain uncertain. The record mentions Mahīpāla but his exact relationship with the two brothers is far from clear. R. D. Banerji dogded the issue by saying that they might have been royal princes.[2] But he held the opinion that the use of *akārayat* in the Sarnath inscription proved that at that time Mahīpāla had ceased to reign and Nayapāla had ascended the throne.[3] Drs. A. S. Altekar and B. C. Sen have stated that the Sarnath image inscription does not necessarily show that Pāla dominions included Banaras.[4] There is however one *lapsus calami* in Dr. Altekar's arguments. He refers to the restorations carried out at Banaras and Sarnath at the instance of Mahīpāla. The restorations in fact were at Sarnath; the record refers to the foundations of new temples and hundreds of other religious edifics (*Kīrtti-ratna-śatāni yau*), It is difficult to appreciate how a king could have raised religious edifics in the realm of a neighbouring king in the context of contemporary conditions. At a time, when

1. Sahni - *Catalogue* p. 308.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 263-64.
3. *Ibid*. pp. 263-64.
4. A. S. Altekar—*History of Banaras*, Banaras. 1937 p. 21 note and B.C. Sen—*Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal*, Calcutta 1942, p. 389.

mutual jealousies of these princes, had made impossible any political unity, when such integration, had become a paramount necessity, due to the invasion of *Āryāvartta* by the Turki converts to Islam, such an unprecedented act lacks support. Nevertheless, we must admit that the evidence is neither final nor conclusive in favour of either theory; but is likely to be clarified when we consider the fragmentary inscription of Māmakā.

The next inscription of any importance is found on the base of the casing of a *stūpa,* doubtfully described as a 'sill stone.' On it, there is a reference to a person named 'Jayapāla.' Whether this 'Jayapāla' was identical with the celebrated brother of Devapāla remains a moot point.[1]

The broken and fragmentary inscription of Māmakā, found in a monastery to the east of Dhameka, is the next important epigraph. It gives a new name to the monastic complex of Sarnath. This is *Śrī Saddharmma-chakra-pravarttana-vihāra.* At this place, on Sunday the 15th day of the bright fortnight of *Āśvina* in K. E. 810=Sunday the 4th October, 1058 A.D.; certain *Sthaviras* gave their blessings in the reign of Karṇa the Chedi King. Further *upāsikā Māmakā,* w/o Dhaneśvara, caused a copy of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (?) and probably performed a *bhikshudāna* (?). The inscription maks several important contributions to our knowledge of the conditions at Banaras.

(i) In 1058 A.D., Banaras was included in the Chedi kingdom - otherwise the mention of Kalachuri (Chedi) Karṇa seems to have no significance. It follows therefore that Mahīpāla too mentioned in the earlier inscription had some political influence over the area.

(ii) The second fact is that the chief fane at Migadāva had two names. At the present state of our evidence *Mūla-gandha-kuṭi* was the earlier. From 7th century onwards another name possibly came in use, which was '*Saddharmma-chakra-pravarttana vihāra.*' It also follows that "*sāṅgaṁ Dharmma-chakraṁ navam*" in the image inscription of king Mahīpāla refers as I had hazarded the guess to various buildings in the whole 'University of Sarnath,' the old 'Migadāva.

1. *AR.*, AS, 1907-08, p. 75; Sahni—*Catalogue,* p. 265. D. (f) 59.

TRINITY IN SCULPTURE.*

BY

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN, M.A., ASST. SUPERINTENDENT,
Department of Archaeology, New Delhi.

That the eternal principle is one, even though learned people call it by various attributes, is a well known idea, coming down from the Ṛgveda. It is only in the Puranic times that a division of duties and functions in the brahmanic pantheon came into existence. It was based on what was called the triple mental states,[1] *sattva, rajas* and *tamas*. Viṣṇu in view of his life-preserving merits is an embodiment of *sattva*; Brahmā being engaged in creation as Prajāpati has the *rājasic* aspect in him; and Śiva as the causative principle of annihilation is seen as a *tāmasic* deity. We have hymns addressed to Trimūrti thus which are realistic of the efficacy of the proper combination[2] of the triple aspects of godheads and these aver that all these three principles of creation, protection and destruction are caused in a never-ending cyclic order and the relationship between any two of these could not be sensed by any means.[3] This is at the very root of later philosophical disquisitions. But while this triple-faceted divine conception had existed in the people's minds, still for certain specific pursuits and rituals, concentration on one or the other

* Paper submitted to the 17th All-India Oriental Conference, Ahmadabad, 1953.

1. Namas trimūrtaye tubhyam prāk sṛṣṭeḥ kevalātmane |
Guṇatrayavibhāgāya paścādbhedamupeyuṣe ||
(*Kumārasambhava*, II. 4)

2. Rajōjuṣe janmani sattvavṛttaye
sthitaḥ prajānām pralaye tamaḥspṛśe |
Ajāya sargasthitināśahetave
trayīmayāya triguṇāya sannatiḥ ||

3. Paraspareṇa vartante dhārayanti parasparam |
Anyonya-mithunā hy ete hy anyonyam upajīvinaḥ ||
Kṣaṇam viyōgō na hyeṣām na tyajanti parasparam |
Īśvaro hi parō devo viṣṇus tu mahataḥ param ||
Brahmā tu rajasodriktaḥ sargāyeha pravartate ||
Viṣṇu Purāṇa Ch. V. vv. 18-21

Plate 1. Three-headed Vishnu image from Mathurā
c. 5th cent. A.D. Courtesy : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

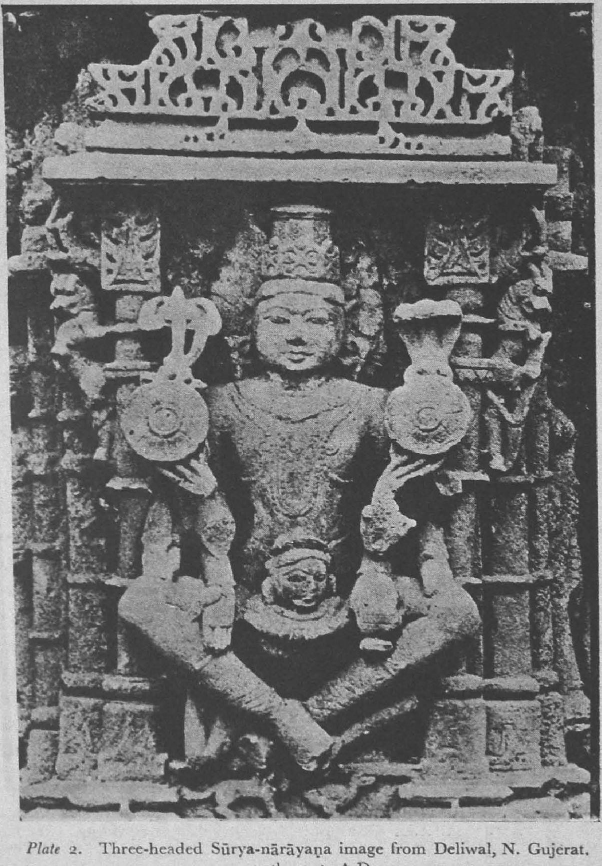

Plate 2. Three-headed Sūrya-nārāyaṇa image from Deliwal, N. Gujerat. *c.* 11th cent. A.D.

forms of these godheads was felt necessary. In its wake came the attempt to invest each of these divine concepts with threefold aspects of functions. We shall see how far we are able to observe the attempts at the iconographic crystallisation of these concepts.

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, separately though at the same place, were constantly depicted in sculpture in the ceilings of many of the Chalukyan temples, as at Aihole and other places[4]. In the Lokeśvara (Virūpākṣa) temple at Paṭṭaḍakkal, there is a sculpture of Śivaliṅga with Viṣṇu and Brahmā shown on either side.

We have what are known as the Ekapāda trimūrti in which Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu are shown as parts of the same body with the central figure only having one leg. The central figure, however, is Śiva and the Śaiva *Kāraṇāgama*[5] and *Śrītattvanidhi*[6] give a discription of this iconographic concept. Both these works are of the mediaeval times and the sculptural examples of these at Tiruvārūr and Tiruvānaikkā in the Tamil country are also of the mediaeval times. The same concept is also described in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and *Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa* texts as the Hariharapitāmaha and these are either of the same body or in the same pedestal and according to these texts the image should have four heads and six hands, with the rosary bead, triśūla and mace in the right hands and the Kamaṇḍalu, khaṭvāṅga and disc in the left hands, these *āyudhas* being clearly those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

From the unitary iconic concept of the trimūrti a further development took place which showed each one of the trinity itself as a *triguṇātmaka-mūrti*; of course by this time the dominating gods were only Viṣṇu and Śiva. Besides, Brahmā possessing as he does four heads and with his occasional beard

---

4. Fergusson, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 36.
5. Brahmāṇḍapralayē susamsthitapadam brahmāṇḍa-madhyasthitam |
Hy evaṃ lakṣaṇasaṁyutam puraharam pādaikamūrtī-kṛtam ||
6. Ekam pīṭham samārūḍham tanutrayanivāsinam |
Ṣaḍbhujaṁ ca caturvaktram sarvalakṣaṇa-saṁyutam ||
Akṣasūtram triśūlam ca gadāṃ caiva tu dakṣiṇam|
Kamaṇḍalum ca khaṭvāṅgam cakram vāmabhuje tathā ||
VI 42-43.

(the symbol of a *yogin*) symbolised the *guṇatraya-vibhāga*. But this was applied to Śiva and Viṣṇu as well. Thus came the figures of Sadāśiva, Mahēśamūrti and trimūrti aspects of Śiva. We have instances of these from the Elephanta Sadāśiva and Mahēśamūrtis, and we have a trimūrti sculpture from as far north a place as Gāndhāra, now in the Peshawar Museum, which was got from a place about 12 miles north of Charsadda. The sculpture is in the Gāndhāra style and it is dated to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. It is probably of the time of Vāsudēva Kuṣāṇa who was reputed to be an ardent devotee of Śiva. It is a six-armed image.

We have another image from Anadra which has close resemblance to the Elephanta Mahēśa with the same three-fold depiction of the Aghōra, Tatpuruṣa and Vāmadeva aspects. We have countless *mukhaliṅgas* portraying the five-fold *svarūpas* of Śiva denoting the five elemental energies, and one of the earliest of these is from Bhita which carries also a Prākṛt inscription which makes it possible for us to date it to the 1st century B.C.

If such had been the triune iconic creation of Śivamūrti, have we got a similar development in Viṣṇu iconography also? The answer seems to be in the positive because we have examples of the triple-headed Viṣṇu images also from Madhyapradesh, Gujerat, Kashmir and in the Kulu Valley.[7] Two outstanding examples of such an image come from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, and Delwal, North Gujerat. The former (plate 1) is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A., and this is illustrated as pl. XII in the '*Portfolio of Indian Art*' by the late A. K. Coomaraswami. The image is made of red sandstone and would belong to the 5th century A. D. Unfortunately, only the head and shoulders are preserved and we do not have any idea as to how many hands the image possessed. But the real peculiarity consists in the fact of its right head being that of Narasiṁha and the left, that of Varāha. This is indeed very suggestive and shows how deeply the trimūrti concept —the epitomisation of the three-fold *guṇas* and *kriyās* of the original trinity— had been wrought in the Viṣṇu icon. For, is it not that we find in the Maheśa image the *tāmasic* form to its right and the *rājasic* form to its left and the *tatpuruṣa* in the middle? In a like manner, we have the feroci-

7. J. Ph. Vogel, *A.R.A.S.I.* 1903-04, p. 218.

ous and destructive Narasiṁha form to the right and the creative, *rājasic* Varāha form to the left and a calm *sāttvic* Viṣṇu face in the middle. Viṣṇu annihilated Hiraṇyakaśipu by taking the man-lion form. He retrieved the Bhūdevī or Mother Earth from the depths of the nether waters where Hiraṇyākṣa had taken her. He performed an act of creation thereby. Thus the *saṁhāra, sthiti* and *prasūti* aspects of the trinities are cleverly crystallised in this single, triune Viṣṇu icon.

The other example (see plate 2) from the shrine wall of Limboji Mātā's temple at Delwal in North Gujerat is illustrated and noted in the *"Architectural Antiquities of North Gujerat"* by Jas Burgess and Henry Cousens, 1903, (pl. LXIX). The sculpture can be dated to about the 11th century A.D. It is in addition to being a triune representation of Viṣṇu is further made interesting by the fact that the central figure is Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, itself a combination of Sūrya and Viṣṇu—the post Vedic evolutions of the Mitra and Viṣṇu. It depicts a three-faced God with four hands; the two left hands have multiple hooded serpent (upper) and a kamaṇḍalu (lower) respectively, and the two right hands have a triśūla (upper) and vara-mudrā pose (lower) respectively. The figure is seated on the back of a bearer who is apparently Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, in humanised form, who is shown in knelt position. The Sūrya aspect of the central figure is brought forth by the two lotus blossoms springing from the tip of two upper hands and by the depiction of the stockinged feet. The pedestal moulding bears the representations of the swan and the bull, the vehicles of Brahmā and Śiva respectively. As already mentioned, the kamaṇḍalu on the one hand and the triśūla and cobra on the other would stand for Brahmā and Śiva. The figure itself is three headed with a resplendent Kirīṭa for each. This sculpture is very unique and would seem to reflect the basic idea of the famous description of a Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa[8] in our ancient texts. Further, since this part of the country was noted in the past for Sun worship, the sculptors happily com-

---

8. Namaḥ Savitre Jagadēka-cakṣuṣe
Jagat-prasūti-sthiti-nāśa-hētave |
Trayīmayāya Triguṇātma-dhāriṇe
Viriñci-Nārāyaṇa-Śaṅkarātmane ||

bined the Sun aspect and the Viṣṇu aspect and further introduced the triune concept into it by the incorporation of Śiva and Brahmā features into it.

It is thus quite obvious that we have proofs for unmistakable iconic attempts at the representation of the essential unity, continuity and indivisibility of the eternal god-head which causes the chain of *triguṇātmaka-kriyās* for the life-cycle to proceed, and if elaborate Viṣṇuite and Śaivite hierarchy of gods had been brought about in comparatively later times, the emphasis on the basic unity of those concepts was never lost sight of and was given iconographic expression so as to immortalise these concepts. At the same time, the attempt to bring out the triple aspects of godhead in each case is only a henotheistic tendency to exalt the particular god who is for the time being contemplated upon and so is superior to the other gods. This henotheistic tendency has its roots even in the Vedic hymns wherein, at every juncture, the god about whom a particular hymn concerns itself is glorified to the extreme and attributed all kinds of *prabhāvas* and *guṇas,* and the same god in a different context becomes inferior or secondary to another, when the latter's praise is the aim of a hymn. This frame mind evolved further with the dawn of Bhakti cult demanding concentration on one god for the efficacy of one's *sādhanā*.

THE WORKING CLASS IN THE AMARAKOṢA

BY

D. D. KOSAMBI

The *Nāma-liṅgānuśāsanam*[1] of Amarasimha is the oldest surviving complete dictionary of Sanskrit words in common use, and the most popular. The author cannot be placed as early as (the legendary) king Vikrama of 57 B.C., for he mentions the cocoanut *nālikera* (2. 4. 168; without any of the byproducts, unless coir is concealed in the doubtful variant *śuma* for *śulba* of 2. 10. 27). The cocoanut tree was first extensively planted on the upper west coast between 71 and 121 A.D. not becoming well known in India for centuries afterwards. The pomegranate (*dāḍima*: 2. 4. 64; 3. 5. 42; perhaps 3. 4. 49), also cannot have been widely known at an early date, being of Persian origin, with logical spread during the Gupta period, or at any rate after the Sātavāhanas. The *ghaṭīyantra* (2. 10. 27), some form of Persian wheel for irrigation, is not known to the *Arthaśāstra* in spite of its preoccupation with increasing land yield; it occurs at least twice in the early 7th century *Harṣacarita* (p. 94, p. 104). On the other hand it is difficult to visualize the lexicon as being written much after the 5th century A.D., seeing its long popularity and the Buddhistic beginning.

The classification of words seems haphazard to many, "exceedingly imperfect and confused, especially in all that relates to abstract ideas or mental operations."[2] At least the classes have not been retained by other comparable word-collections like the *Viśva* and the *Medinī*, which do not directly copy Amara. None of the commentators, including Subhūticandra, Kṣīrasvāmin, Sarvānanda, Rāyamukuṭa, or the modern Maheśvara, seem to find anything special about the order. My point is that Amarasiṃha is mnemonically superior to his competitors precisely because he gave more attention to objective reality than to ideal categories, unlike the scholiasts who concentrate upon grammatical form and derivation. There is *a clear association of ideas, resulting in a hierarchical arrangement* not only by chapters but within the chapter; the words fall into natural groups in the most important cases. Even within the group, a similar ordering

is to be noticed, allowing at all times for the exigencies of the simple metre. This will become obvious as we proceed, and will be used to deduce some reasonable conclusions about 2. 10. Wherever practical matters are concerned (in the first two *kāṇḍas*), a word in the thesaurus may with advantage be studied as part of a sequence in its context, rather than by itself.

1. The *varga* sections of particular sociological interest are 2. 7 to 2. 10, labelled after the four classes of contemporary society as *brahma, kṣatriya, vaiśya,* and *śūdra,* in this accepted order. Varga 2. 7 begins with a classification of the various professional types of brahmin. Thereafter are given the *yajña* and *vrata* ritual terms. In 2. 8 (the kṣatriya), the beginning lists types of ruler and warrior, along with officials and functionaries at all levels of whom some like the harem eunuch (2. 8. 9) could not have been kṣatriyas. Then come terms connected with the army, the penal administration of justice, tolls, dues, taxes. For the last, many of the technical terms of the copper plates or inscriptions are missing, though *bhāga-dheya* in 2. 8. 27 may denote the standard royal tribute rent of a sixth, *ṣaḍbhāga*; possibly, as Fa Hian reports, taxes were nominal in Bihar and U. P. of that period, so that the kṣatriya would have less to collect than in later, properly feudal days. Thereafter come royal paraphernalia, classification of elephants, horses, soldiers, weapons, and means of warfare. Section 2.9 deals with the vaiśya in parallel fashion. People of this class lived by agriculture, cattle breeding, trade (*vāṇijya*), money-lending, as seen from the synonyms at the beginning. Types of fields are then classified by size and quality; farm tools, crops, utensils, food products for trade; cattle and other herd animals; terms of trade and money-lending, including coinage, weights and measures; jewels, metals, spices, perfumes, waxes and such goods come at the end. The boat-traders are given separately with two synonyms, in the class of water, 1. 10. The author seems more familiar with rivers than with the sea, as terms for anchor, sail, outrigger are missing, while the identifiable fish seem to be fresh-water varieties. Though the lexicon must have been composed at a time when trade was quite general, its compiler could not have belonged to a port-town.

One may note that cloth is not in the list of major trade goods, though 2.6.110-119 names many special kinds of

cloth, beginning with silk and the costlier stuffs, many of which are known to have been overseas exports. Actually, the two main non-local necessities for the countryside were first salt, whereof 2.9.41-43 gives many varieties from the common sea-salt to types mined or extracted from the soil; secondly, the metals. The vaiśya traded these regularly against farm surplus and cattle. That the trader supplied cities from the surplus would follow from the synonym *naigama* (2.9.78, 3.3.40) which derives from *nigama* (2.2.1, 3.3.139). Coins marked *negamā*[3] show that these nigama trading centres and the naigama traders actually existed. The word denotes a small traders' colony lower in rank as a town than the *puṭabhedanam* (2.2.1) = "the place where packages of merchandise are opened up (for barter)"; that is, *puṭabhedanam* is placed earlier in Amara's list of city-settlements by the hierarchical principle. The reason for omission of cloth is not difficult to find. It was either manufactured locally by the village weaver *tantuvāya* whom we shall meet later in 2.10.6; or for finer varieties, by guilds (*śreṇī*), which are mentioned right at the beginning of the working men. It is much later that cloth plays any important role in the general economy of trade and barter; but by then the artisan guilds had vanished.

One should like to say that the *Amarakośa* was written in feudal times. But the evidence is poor. In the sections that follow, we shall find evidence for a class of unfree workmen, but none for serfs tied to the land, or for villas, manors, latifundia. There is no word that indicates land ownership, or special rights in land; the mountain and the king are both labelled *bhūmidhara* (3 3.60), whence land still belonged to the state in theory and practice. The word *sāmanta* which means neighbour in the *Arthaśāstra* and feudatory ruler in the *Harṣacrita* (p. 60; p. 100: *svabhujabala-nirjitāś ca karadī-kṛtā mahāsāmantās taṃ siṣevire*) is missing here. This rather dangerous type of argument from negative evidence has to be used with caution. In any case, the corvēe *viṣṭi* of the inscriptions with its synonym *ājū* (1.9.3) are grouped together in the "class of hell", as some form of torture or punishment in the netherworld; there is no mention of it in connection with the kṣatriya who should have exacted corvēe labour in the name of the king, along with taxes, nor with the vaiśya and śūdra from whom it was levied,

This seems again to confirm the Chinese traveller's description of about 410 A.D.

2. We now come to the actual *śūdravarga*, our main topic of study. The first four stanzas (2.10. 1—4) give briefly the castes supposedly arising—in Brahmin theory—from miscegenation:

शूद्राश्चावरवर्णाश्च वृषलाश्च जघन्यजाः ।
आ चण्डालात्तु संकीर्णा अम्बष्ठकरणादयः ॥ १ ॥
शूद्राविशोस्तु करणोऽम्बष्ठो वैश्याद्विजन्मनोः ।
शूद्राक्षत्रिययोरुग्रो मागधः क्षत्रियाविशोः ॥ २ ॥
माहिषोऽर्याक्षत्रिययोः क्षत्ताऽर्याशूद्रयोः सुतः ।
ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियात् सूतस्तस्यां वैदेहको विशः ॥ ३ ॥
रथकारस्तु माहिष्यात् करण्यां यस्य संभवः ।
स्याच्चण्डालस्तु जनितो ब्राह्मण्यां वृषलेन यः ॥ ४ ॥

The interesting feature of this or any other similar list is that many of these mixed castes were honoured professions at an earlier period while *karaṇa* as the *kāyastha* (not mentioned in the *kośa*) registrar of village lands survived to a very late date in function, with a rising social status. The *rathakāra* is honoured in the vedas; he and the *caṇḍāla* recur later in this varga without reference to the earlier citation. The *Arthaśāstra* (3. 7) distinguishes the *sūta* from an earlier and higher one (cf. *Amara*. 3. 3. 61), as it does the *māgadha* (cf. 2.8. 97); the latter is a tribal name like Ugra[4] but come to mean a guild, just as *vaidehaka* passed through these stages (? *udehaka* coins, Allan p. cxli, p. 240) to survive in 2.9.78 as "trader", primarily, caravan-trader. The inclusion of all these in the śūdra list indicates hardening of the ancient caste system into classes, with the complete disappearance of some professional categories surviving only by tradition.

But we come down immediately to reality:

कारुः शिल्पी संहतैस्तैर्द्वयोः श्रेणिः सजातिभिः ।
कुलकः स्यात् कुलश्रेष्ठी

Guild craftsmen existed, to rank above all others ; this is proved by the epigraph of a silk-weavers' guild at Mandasor (A. D. 473-4; Fleet No. 18), and confirms my hypothesis of

a hierarchical order in the dictionary. In the *Amarakośa*, the word *śreṇi* occurs once more in the sense of guild (2.8.18) showing the importance of the institution,

राज्याङ्गानि प्रकृतयः पौराणां श्रेणयोऽपि च ।

"The civic guilds are among the limbs of the kingdom." In the previous quotation, *sajātibhiḥ* shows the endogamous caste nature of the *śreṇi* guild; Kṣīrasvāmin comments: *samāna-jātīya-kāru-saṃghaḥ*. The word *hālika* is found just once (2.9.64) in the sense of "plough-ox", while to Hāla and so many after him in literature as well as inscriptions, it meant ploughman or farmer with a certain status.

मालाकारस्तु मालिकः ॥ ५ ॥
कुम्भकारः कुलालः स्यात् पलगण्डस्तु लेपकः ।
तन्तुवायः कुविन्दः स्यात्तुन्नवायस्तु सौचिकः ॥ ६ ॥
रङ्गाजीवश्चित्रकरः शस्त्रमार्जोऽसिधावकः ।
पादूकृच्चर्मकारः स्याद्व्योकारो लोहकारकः ॥ ७ ॥
नाडिन्धमः स्वर्णकारः कलादो रुक्मकारकः ।
स्याच्छाङ्खिकः काम्बविकः शौल्बिकस्ताम्रकुट्टकः ॥ ८ ॥
तक्षा तु वर्धकिस्त्वष्टा रथकारस्तु काष्ठतट् ।
ग्रामाधीनो ग्रामतक्षः कौटतक्षोऽनधीनकः ॥ ९ ॥

These craftsmen are in approximately descending order: garland-maker, potter, plasterer (mason), weaver, tailor, painter, sharpener of weapons (armourer), cobbler and leather-worker, blacksmith, goldsmith (who would rank higher in the cities, but not in the villages), bangle-maker (from chank shells), coppersmith (who even now hammers copper pots), carpenter, sawyer (*rathakāra*, who dressed logs for timber, and planks; the earlier reference as a mixed caste is forgotten). The last line is specially to be noted: "(the carpenter) who depends upon a village is called a village carpenter; otherwise an independent carpenter". Gupta period inscriptions[5] mention "the carpenter's plot" in a village. The carpenter is not one fortuitously settled in a village, but an official component of the village with the blacksmith, leather-worker, potter, and other *nāru-kāru* who continue to this day in the more conservative villages, while occurring in inscriptions of the late classical and early

medieval period. Besides plots of land assigned to each one of them for personal cultivation, they get as perquisites an agreed share each of village harvests, against fixed duties of maintenance for tools, houses, etc. of the villagers. Amara looks upon his country through rustic eyes. Though some of these workers could also have served in the cities, a separate varga (2.2) takes care of city structures, including monasteries and houses; as noted, the goldsmith would rank above the others in civic life. The continuation of the list are precisely the remaining village craftsmen (even without the prefix *grāma*) with special prerogatives, say the *aḷutedār-baḷutedār* of Mahārāṣṭra. The omission of the village clerk *karaṇa* surely indicates low taxes and little development of individual plot-holdings. No other equivalent official is given; that the name occurs among the mixed-castes at the beginning of the list should not have prevented repetition in the proper context, as with *rathakāra*, *caṇḍāla*, *&c*. In 6th century East Bengal, where the system could not have differed much from that of the late Gupta period (*I.A.* XXXIX, 1910, pp. 193—216; Farīdpūr dist.), the officials concerned with registry of plots and taxation seem to be directly in the king's service, above and not a part of the village. The *grāma-kāru* village functionaries of an *agrahāra* were (*EI.* V. p. 112; at Dibbiḍa April 6, 1269): carpenter, goldsmith, barber, blacksmith, potter, oil-extracter: *takṣakaḥ svarṇakāraś ca kṣaurikaḥ karmakārakaḥ; kulālas tilahattā ca pradattā grāmakārukāḥ*. These are exempted *en masse* from the donation, holding their fields and prerogatives even after the gift of the village to brahmins.

क्षुरी मुण्डी दिवाकीर्तिर्नापितान्तावसायिनः ।
निर्णेजकः स्याद्रजकः शौण्डिको मण्डहारकः ॥ १० ॥
जाबालः स्यादजाजीवो देवाजीवस्तु देवलः ।

Of these, the barber, washerman (dhobi), and non-brahmin cult-priest still maintain their village position; the vintner and goatherd later dropped out because of changes in state, religion, and the denser settlement (plus overcultivation) which in the final analysis, brought the changes about. The many varieties of wine named further on in the varga show that drinking fermented liquor was a normal and important village activity.

The next group is of those who purveyed amusement, apparently itinerant magicians, players, musicians who still survive to eke out their increasingly precarious existence. The *Arthaśāstra* (2. 1) forbade their entering into (royal) villages at all, while Amara's *nāṭyavarga* (1. 7) covers the higher dramaturgy favoured by city folk and the court. He considers in 2.10 the śūdras and their associates; the vast majority of śūdras lived by working on the land, in villages.

स्यान्माया शाम्बरी मायाकारस्तु प्रतिहारिकः ॥ ११ ॥
शैलालिनस्तु शैलूषा जायाजीवाः कृशाश्विनः ।
भरता इत्यपि नटाश्चारणास्तु कुशीलवाः ॥ १२ ॥
मार्दङ्गिका मौरजिकाः पाणिवादास्तु पाणिघाः ।
वेणुध्माः स्युर्वैणविका वीणावादास्तु वैणिकाः ॥ १३ ॥

Still lower in the scale were the trapper, hunter, and butcher who purveyed flesh. The last has almost vanished from the ranks of Hindu castes, with the advent of Muslims and Christians. The trappers are still to be found as the *phāse-pārdhīs* in western India. But they are now virtually the lowest of the low, being tribal folk who specialize in trapping for birds or in some groups for animals, in spite of the almost extinct game. Their actual livelihood is for the most part by begging, and it seems to me that their correspondence to Amara's professionals is fortuitous, some tribesmen having moved into professions that were obsolete in society proper when our village settlements expanded far beyond the Gupta age. The Amarakośa categories cannot apply strictly to all times and localities.

जीवान्तकः शाकुनिको द्वौ वागुरिकजालिकौ ।
वैतंसिकः कौटिकश्च मांसिकश्च समं त्रयम् ॥ १४ ॥

3. All the preceding workers have some particular skill which enables them to earn a living. We now come to the lowest sub-classes, namely those who have only unskilled labour or none to offer.

भृतको भृतिभुक् कर्मकरो वैतनिकोऽपि सः ।
वार्तावहो वैवधिको भारवाहस्तु भारिकः ॥ १५ ॥
निवर्णः पामरो नीचः प्राकृतश्च पृथग्जनः ।
निहीनोऽपसदो जाल्मः क्षुल्लकश्चेतरश्च सः ॥ १६ ॥

Of these, the *pāmara* "scabby fellow" is the Indian proletarian, not found in the *Arthaśāstra* or *Manusmṛti*, but known throughout classical Sanskrit literature. The Arthaśāstra (4.4) knows *jālma* only as 'rascal', the abuse being used for a rich man there; with Amarasiṃha, the *jālma* is about the lowest grade of workman. Most of these labourers, arranged quite unmistakably in descending order, came into their own at planting and harvest, two periods, when labour was scarce while the monsoon forced accurate timing of all farm operations at the risk of losing the whole crop. These are all in the category of free workers, for below them comes another of drudges who were not free, being bondsmen of some kind.

भृत्ये दासेरदासेयदासगोप्यकचेटकाः ।
नियोज्यकिङ्करप्रैष्यभुजिष्यपरिचारकाः ॥ १७ ॥
पराचितपरिस्कन्दपरजातपरैधिताः ।

Historically, most of these emerged from the debt-slave who bound himself over in times of famine, often a decayed tribesman. They furnish a basis for later feudalism "from below," taking—with the poorest tenant-farmers—the place of serfs in medieval Europe. The omission of the scavenger (*bhaṅgī*) so essential in a large Indian city would again indicate that we are dealing mainly with village life. The village scavenger is, of course, the pig mentioned as such in 2.10.23 later.

मन्दस्तुन्दपरिमृज आलस्यः शीतकोऽलसोऽनुष्णः ॥ १८ ॥
दक्षे तु चतुरपेशलपटवः सूत्थान उष्णश्च ।

These simply classify workers according to degrees of sloth or diligence. We now come to the human beings allowed to hang upon the fringes of society, loathed because of their unclean food (carrion, dog-meat), or calling (disposal of corpses).

चण्डालप्लवमातङ्गदिवाकीर्तिजनङ्गमाः ॥ १९ ॥
निषादश्वपचावन्तेवासिचाण्डालपुक्कसाः ।

The mixed origin of Caṇḍāla in 2. 10. 1, 4 above is forgotton when listing the actual untouchables who huddled just beyond the edge of settlements as is shown by the term *antevāsinaḥ*. Actually the Caṇḍāla is of tribal origin[6] (cf. *pāñcāla*), as are innumerable other castes actually found

today in India—mostly śūdras, but some risen by vocation in economic and therefore social status, to a place among the three higher caste-classes. The proximity to the tribes is reflected in the next line:

भेदाः किरातशबरपुलिन्दा म्लेच्छजातयः ॥ २० ॥

These are some of the tribes who led their independent existence beyond the pale of classical Indian society; some of Amara's names may be from the literary record rather than ethnographic observation. However, in 2.2.20 *cd* we have, as distinct from the usual *grāma* village: *ghoṣa Ābhīra-pallī syāt pakkaṇaḥ śabarālyaḥ*. The *ābhīras* certainly existed, occurring in so many inscriptions as raiders and tribesmen. They still exist in U. P. as the Āhīr caste, being cattle-breeders and pastoralists, generally living by themselves in separate villages or section of a village. Amarasiṃha's commentators give *ābhīra* as merely a herdsman, Amara himself ranking *ābhīra* among the synonyms of herdsmen in 2.9.57. But *pallī* means hamlet of tribesmen or aborigines throughout classical Sanskrit, with its own savage chief *pallīpati*; that the word occurs in the same line with *pakkaṇa* which is unmistakably a savage camp, is significant, both being well beyond the *grāma* and *grāmānta* of the preceding line, hence not agricultural. The Ābhīras were defeated as a tribe by Samudragupta according to Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti* on the Allahabad pillar; therefore a century or so might be allowed to pass till the age when they became tribal shepherds, no longer fighters. We may note that Amara has not the word *padraka* or its equivalent, found in inscriptions from the 6th century at least, for offshoots of a village that later developed into villages by themselves and are still marked by such endings of place-names. Among omissions of tribal names are not only all the other tribes in Samudragupta's panegyric but also the Licchavis familiar by name to any Buddhist, surviving as a traditional mixed caste in the *Manusmṛti*, and the name of a royal house into which Candragupta I married. Thus, the tribesmen Amara does mention are only such as were generally familiar under the particular or generic names. That they had separate languages of their own follows from their being called *mleccha-jātayaḥ*, which also puts them beyond the confines of organized society. That they lived mostly by hunting is implied by the immediate juxtaposition of:

व्याधो मृगवधाजीवो मृगयुर्लुब्धकोऽपि सः ।

This list of hunters is followed by dogs and terms of the chase. The order then becomes a bit disturbed, as the dog naturally leads to other familiar village animals, among which is the *viṭcara* (filth-eater), the pig. The regular herd animals appertain to the vaiśya's chapter.

कौलेयकः सारमेयः कुक्कुरो मृगदंशकः ॥ २१ ॥
शुनको भषकः श्वा स्यादलर्कस्तु स योगितः ।
श्वा विश्वकद्रुर्मृगयाकुशलः सरमा शुनी ॥ २२ ॥
विट्चरः सूकरो ग्राम्यो वर्करस्तरुणः पशुः ।
आच्छोदनं मृगव्यं स्यादाखेटो मृगया स्त्रियाम् ॥ २३ ॥
दक्षिणारुर्लुब्धयोगाद्दक्षिणेर्मा कुरङ्गकः ।

Amara now lists the thieves who (like the hunters) would have either been tribesmen preying upon organized society as chance offered, or individuals who would not submit to the mean life of a worker.

चौरैकागारिकस्तेनदस्युतस्करमोषकाः ॥ २४ ॥
प्रतिरोधिपरास्कन्दिपाटच्चरमलिम्लुचाः ।
चौरिका स्तैन्यचौर्ये च स्तेयं लोप्त्रं तु तद्धनम् ॥ २५ ॥

The rest of the *varga* lists implements and tools used by the various sub-classes, though not in the same order; in fact, rope or knives would be of universal use, not confined to a particular sub-caste. The reader should note specially the last three groups of terms. Stanzas 38. *cd* to 39. *ab* detail eleven synonyms for wages, purchase price, or compensation. In 39. *cd*—43, the author presents us with a large variety of wines, some wine-vessels, and two words *āpānam, pānagoṣṭhikā* for large drinking parties. The implication is that wine was very commonly drunk, though not generally traded by the vaiśya. The manufacturers *śauṇḍika* and *maṇḍahāraka* of 2. 10. 10 *d* are high in the village ranking. The wines prepared by these specialists were primarily a solace of the working class, not a major article of trade over long distances, nor an indispensable adjunct of the warrior. This would account for their mention immediately after wages. The words *gañjā* and *madirāgṛham* in 2. 2. 8 show the ale-house to have been as notable a feature of city life as the hospice *maṭha* earlier in the same line. But neither the words nor the

institution play the same role in classical Sanskrit literature as the tavern in English; nor do we find development into "inn" or "hotel", as happened even in China with "wine-house". We know that the upper classes also indulged occasionally, particularly in connnction with the act of love; yet brahmins and Buddhists alike forbade its use, while addiction would have been scandalous for any member of the higher castes. That is surely why the wine list is followed immediately by its inseparable but more fashionable companion, gambling. This was certainly not restricted to the śūdra, being known to the aristocrats since the Ṛgveda. Still, recording dice and game terms here indicates that such play had fallen into disrepute with the religious and the high-born. The more intellectual game of chess is nowhere mentioned by Amara though supposedly an Indian invention about his period.

वीतसंस्तूपकरणं बन्धने मृगपक्षिणाम् ।
उन्माथः कूटयन्त्रं स्याद्वागुरा मृगबन्धनी ॥ २६ ॥
शुल्बं वराटकं स्त्री तु रज्जुस्त्रिषु वटी गुणः ।
उद्घाटनं घटीयन्त्रं सलिलोद्वाहनं प्रहेः ॥ २७ ॥
पुंसि वेमा वायदण्डः सूत्राणि नरि तन्तवः ।
वाणिर्व्यूतिः स्त्रियौ तुल्ये पुस्तं लेप्यादिकर्मणि ॥ २८ ॥
पाञ्चालिका पुत्रिका स्याद्वस्त्रदन्तादिभिः कृता ।
(जतुत्रपुविकारे तु जातुषं त्रापुषं त्रिषु ॥) २९ ॥
पिटकः पेटकः पेटा मञ्जूषाऽथ विहङ्गिका ।
भारयष्टिस्तदालम्बि शिक्यं काचोऽथ पादुका ॥ ३० ॥
पादूरुपानत् स्त्री सैवानुपदीना पदायता ।
नध्री वध्री वरत्रा स्यादश्वादेस्ताडनी कशा ॥ ३१ ॥
चाण्डालिका तु कण्डोलवीणा चण्डालवल्लकी ।
नाराची स्यादेषणिका शाणस्तु निकषः कषः ॥ ३२ ॥
व्रश्चनः पत्रपरशुरीषिका तूलिका समे ।
तैजसावर्तनी मूषा भस्त्रा चर्मप्रसेविका ॥ ३३ ॥
आस्फोटनी वेधनिका कृपाणी कर्तरी समे ।
वृक्षादनी वृक्षभेदी टङ्कः पाषाणदारणः ॥ ३४ ॥
क्रकचोऽस्त्री करपत्रमारा चर्मप्रभेदिका ।
सूर्मी स्थूणाऽयःप्रतिमा शिल्पं कर्म कलादिकम् ॥ ३५ ॥

प्रतिमानं प्रतिबिम्बं प्रतिमा प्रतियातना प्रतिच्छाया ।
प्रतिकृतिरर्चा पुंसि प्रतिनिधिरुपमोपमानं स्यात् ॥ ३६ ॥
वाच्यलिङ्गाः समस्तुल्यः सदृक्षः सदृशः सदृक् ।
साधारणः समानश्च स्युरुत्तरपदे त्वमी ॥ ३७ ॥
निभसंकाशनीकाशप्रतीकाशोपमादयः ।
कर्मण्या तु विधाभृत्याभृतयो भर्म वेतनम् ॥ ३८ ॥
भरण्यं भरणं मूल्यं निर्वेशः पण इत्यपि ।
सुरा हलिप्रिया हाला परिस्रुद्वरुणात्मजा ॥ ३९ ॥
गन्धोत्तमा प्रसन्नेराकादम्बर्यः परिस्रुता ।
मदिरा कश्यमद्ये चाप्यवदंशस्तु भक्षणम् ॥ ४० ॥
शुण्डापानं मदस्थानं मधुवारा मधुक्रमाः ।
मध्वासवो माधवको मधु माध्वीकमद्वयोः ॥ ४१ ॥
मैरेयमासवः सीधुर्मेदको जगलः समौ ।
संधानं स्यादभिषवः किण्वं पुंसि तु नग्नहूः ॥ ४२ ॥
कारोत्तरः सुरामण्ड आपानं पानगोष्ठिका ।
चषकोऽस्त्री पानपात्रं सरकोऽप्यनुतर्षणम् ॥ ४३ ॥
धूर्तोऽक्षदेवी कितवोऽक्षधूर्तो द्यूतकृत्समाः ।
स्युर्लग्नकाः प्रतिभुवः सभिका द्यूतकारकाः ॥ ४४ ॥
द्यूतोऽस्त्रियामक्षवती कैतवं पण इत्यपि ।
पणोऽक्षेषु ग्लहोऽक्षास्तु देवनाः पाशकाश्च ते ॥ ४५ ॥
परिणायस्तु शारीणां समन्तान्नयनेऽस्त्रियाम् ।
अष्टापदं शारिफलं प्राणिद्यूतं समाह्वयः ॥ ४६ ॥
उक्ता भूरिप्रयोगत्वादेकस्मिन् येऽत्र यौगिकाः ।
ताद्धर्म्यादन्यतो वृत्तावूह्या लिङ्गान्तरेऽपि ते ॥ ४७ ॥

॥ इति शूद्रवर्गः ॥ १० ॥

NOTES & REFERENCES.

1. The edition used of the *Amarakośa* is the very popular one (now out of print) issued by the Bombay Dept. of Public Instruction (6th ed. 1907), with the commentary of Maheśvara, enlarged by Messrs. Thatte, Taḷekar, Jhaḷakīkar. Also the Nirṇayasāgar edition (6th, Bombay 1944) with the commentary of Bhānujt Dīkṣita. The Subhūticandra (between 1062 & 1172) fragment was copied out for my use from a Malabār palm-leaf at the D.A.V.

College library, Hoshiarpur, Madras Govt. R. 2933 being a recent paper transcript; copies in Tibet are reported by Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, *JBORS XXI*, 1935, p. 40, p. 43. Sarvānanda (1159 A. D.), known as Vandyaghaṭīya (an early Banerji), was edited, quoting Kṣīrasvāmin *in extenso*, for the Trivandrum Skt. Series: nos. 38, 43, 51, 52 (Trivandrum 1913-1917). Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary was edited and published by K. G. Oka at Poona 1913; Oka assigns Amarasiṃha to the 4th century A. D., Kṣīrasvāmin to the second half of the 11th—whence the grammarian Kṣīra at the court of king Jayāpīḍa of Kaśmīr (*Rajataraṅgiṇī* 4. 489) is some other person. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya: *index verborum* by Shama Sastry (3 vol., Mysore 1924-5), ed. Mysore 1924, and T. Gaṇapati Śāstri's Tri. Skt. Ser. edition. The *Harṣacarita* (1st half of the 7th cent. A. D.) text was issued by the Nirṇaysāgar Press, 7th. ed. Bombay 1946. In dating lesser-known writers, I follow the authoritative work of P. K. Goḍe (Singhi Jain Series 37-8), "Studies in Indian Literary History." For social developments and conditions, the findings of a paper of mine to appear this year in the *J. Am. Or. Soc.* have been used.

2. P. M. Roget: "International Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases," ed. C. O. S. Mawson, New York 1925; introduction p. xviii.

3. John Allan: "Catalogue of Ancient Indian Coins" (in the British Museum) London 1936; pp. cxxvi-cxxviii, pp. 214-5, and plates.

4. R. Fick: "Die Mischkaste der Ugras" in *Festschrift Winternitz* (Leipzig 1933), pp. 279-286. In *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 1. 348, Ugra as a personal name.

5. The Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta, dated Dec. 13, 506 A.D. (according to its editor D. C. Bhattacharya, *IHQ. VI*, 1930, pp. 45-60 has the boundary: *purvveṇaguṇekā grahāra-grāma-sīmā Viṣṇu-vardhakikṣetraś ca*, though Mr. Bhattacharya translates *vardhaki* as "engineer" on p. 58. Fleet no. 38 (inscription of Dharasena II of Valabhī, A. D. 571-2) gives the term *vardhaki-pratyaya*, pratyaya meaning "holding" or "assigned plot" in these epigraphs.

6. The Caṇḍālas had their own settlements and their own separate language according to *Jātakas* 497 (*Mātaṅga-paṇḍita*) and 498 (*Citta-shmbhūta*); however, they were even then so despised that brahmin girls washed out their eyes after having gazed by accident upon the untouchable. On the other hand, clever Caṇḍālas could manage to pass themselves off as brahmins, according to these tales.

VERSE 12 OF BHOJA PRATIHĀRA'S GWĀLIOR PRAŚASTI

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA, *D.Litt., Delhi.*

We discuss here the actual significance of verse 12 of Bhoja Pratihāra's Gwālior *praśasti*, in view of the importance generally attached to it in determining the nature of relations between Bhoja, the Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj, and his contemporary and rival, Devapāla of Gauḍa, the son and successor of Dharmapāla. The text of the verse, and its English rendering by Dr. R. C. Majumdar are as follows:

यस्याभूत्कुलभूमिभृत्प्रमथनव्यस्तान्यसैन्याम्बु(म्बु)धे-
व्यूढा[1] च स्फुटितारिलाजनिवहान् हुत्वा प्रतापानले ।
गुप्ता वृद्धगुणैरनन्यगतिभिः शान्तैस्सुधोद्भासिभि-
र्धर्म्मापत्ययशःप्रसूतिरपरा लक्ष्मीः पुनर्भून्न या[2] ॥

"The other Lakṣmī, the source of the fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was cast out of the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the *Kula* mountains in the form of the kings of his (Bhoja's) own race, who was married by offering (as an oblation) fried grains which were the destroyed enemies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by his superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, became a fit remarried bride of that king."[3]

For various reasons we have found it difficult to agree with Dr. Majumdar. The last two words of the verse न and या, cannot give the sense of "fit," even if they be read together as one word, नया. To have the sense assigned by Dr. Majumdar, one should have a word like नयशालिनी or नययुता. The word नय, of which नया, used in the verse,

---

1. Dr. Majumdar reads व्यूढां. I follow the ASI reading.

2. Dr. Majumdar reads नया as one word. I follow ASI in reading न and या as two words.

3. *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 113.

has perhaps been supposed to be the feminine form, is by itself a substantive; it cannot be used as an adjective. Nor can it be a compliment to Bhoja, in his own *praśasti*, that he should be described as the husband of a *punarbhū*. To the best of my knowledge, *paunarbhava patis* and *putras* never had any high status in Hindu society. The expression, धर्म्मापत्ययशःप्रसूति, no doubt tempts one to connect it with Dharma's son, Devapāla. But as Lakṣmī's desertion of Devapāla for the alleged *paunarbhava* husband, Bhoja, can be regarded as a source of *apayaśas* alone for the former, no good poet could have assigned her the absolutely different role of being the cause of his *yaśas* (fame). A more natural interpretation of the expression, धर्म्मापत्ययशःप्रसूति, would, we think, be "she whose issues were *dharma* and *yaśas*",[4] provided we keep the context in view.

In our opinion, Dr. Majumdar has completely missed the general sense of the verse. If it is anything that the *praśastikāra* is out to impress on the reader, it is that Bhoja's Lakṣmī was not a *punarbhū*, i.e., one married to someone else, even to Viṣṇu who is traditionally regarded as Lakṣmī's husband; and he thinks that he can rightly say so, for it was quite a different Lakṣmī that Bhoja took to wife, a Lakṣmī that was born not of *kṣīrasāgara* but of that ocean, called the forces of his enemies, churned by *Kula* mountains in the forms of the rulers of Bhoja's race; a Lakṣmī that was married to him by offering as oblations to the fire of his prowess the broken heads of his enemies instead of mere fried rice; a Lakṣmī protected by the uncommon virtues of Bhoja which were in no way inferior to nectar; a Lakṣmī whose issues where *dharma* and *yaśas*, instead of *kāma*.

With the rejection of Dr. Majumdar's interpretation of the verse, naturally we have to reject also the theories built on its basis by Dr. Majumdar himself, Dr. B. P. Sinha, Dr. R. S. Tripathi and some other eminent historians.

---

4. धर्म्मः अपत्यं यस्याः सा धर्म्मापत्या; यशः प्रसूतिः यस्याः सा यशःप्रसूतिः । धर्म्मापत्या चासौ यशःप्रसूतिः धर्म्मापत्ययशःप्रसूति : ।

VALMIKI'S VIEW OF THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ROOTS OF CULTURE AND HAPPINESS.*

BY

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

The late Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar was not only a world-figure as an illustrious statesman and patriot and a supremely distinguished scholar and educationist but was also a Rama-devotee and a Valmiki-worshipper and a mystic dreamer of dreams and especially of the dreams of a free united prosperous democratic India and of universal welfare and peace and happiness. He always had a kind thought and a kind look and a kind word and a kind act for me as the son of his revered guru, Professor K. Sundararama Iyer. I feel proud and happy to recollect that my *Studies in the Ramayana* and his *Lectures on the Ramayana* came out in the same year and at the same time. I heard his Ramayana lectures in this very environment and felt myself to be a transformed human being. All of us might not have agreed with all that he said but what a feast of reason and flow of soul we had! He said in his very first lecture: "That is why a study of his (Rama's) life is more profitable to us from the point of view of the soul than the study of the life of other heroes." All of us feel that we can say these very words about Sastriar himself. We saw during his lectures how again and again he was overcome by emotion in visualising and expressing the Ramayana ideals and used to take out his spectacles with his left hand and wipe his eyes with his right hand. He said in his first lecture: "Any homage paid to friendship, or gratitude or to any of those eternal abiding virtues of human character, brings tears into my eyes! I stop; I cannot go on, I have to wait and wipe my eyes and then go on." The only others whom I have seen weeping under the stress of tense emotion caused by Valmiki's work were His Holiness Nrisimha Bharati, Pontiff of Sringeri, and my

---

* Lecture delivered at the Madras Samskrita Academy on the Vālmīki Day celeberation dated 31-3-55,

revered father. The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri taught us: "You must read the story as a human story lived amongst human beings by a human being, and then, Oh, what rich treasures there are of wisdom in it!" My endeavour will be to share with you a few of these treasures of wisdom —especially those relating to our own baffling and perplexing problems today.

The oldest and greatest poet of India and the world, the sage-saint-seer-singer Valmiki, belonged to the India of integral vision and integral faith and integral life—long prior to the India of failing vision and sectarian excesses and divided and self-contradictory life. In later times there were, and even today there are, many persons who think that to see things *sub specie eternitatis* we must deny or disaffirm or negate or renounce this world and there are also many persons who think that we must live merrily on earth today for tomorrow we die and that we must not lose the bird in the hand for the sake of the two supposed non-existent birds in the bush. Valmiki did not belong to either of these two extreme groups which have made a mess of India and India's culture and have been and are a menace to India and the world. Quite recently a distinguished American thinker says in his work *Philosophy and Civilisation*: "Philosophy, like politics, literature and the plastic arts, is itself a phenomenon of human culture. Its connection with social history, with civilisation, is intrinsic.... Those who express contempt for the enterprise of philosophy as a sterile and monotonous pre-occupation with insoluble or unreal problems, cannot, without convicting themselves of Philistinism, deny that, however it may stand with philosophy as a revelation of eternal truths, it is tremendously significant as a revelation of the predicaments, protests and aspirations of humanity." The pre-occupation of the supreme poets, as of the supreme philosophers, is not a pre-occupation with Eternity to the exclusion of Time or with Time to the exclusion of Eternity, with God to the exclusion of the world or the world to the exclusion of God, with Beauty and Truth to the exclusion of Utility and Goodness or with Utility and Goodness to the exclusion of Beauty and Truth, with Contemplation to the exclusion of Action or with Action to the exclusion of Contemplation. In the precious and perfect language of the Gita:

सक्ताः कर्मण्यविद्वांसो यथा कुर्वन्ति भारत ।
कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथा सक्तश्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ॥ (Gita III, 25)
कर्मण्यकर्म यः पश्येदकर्मणि च कर्म यः ।
स बुद्धिमान् मनुष्येषु स युक्तः कृत्स्नकर्मकृत् ॥ (,, IV, 18)
यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च मयि पश्यति ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ॥ (,, VI, 30)
सर्वभूतेषु येनैकं भावमव्ययमीक्षते ।
अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु तज्ज्ञानं विद्धि सात्त्विकम् ॥ (,, XVIII, 20)

The Gita follows in the footsteps of the Ramayana which followed the footsteps of Manu Dharma Sastra which followed the footsteps of the Vedas and the Upanishads. Let us always treasure the following precepts in Manu and in Isa Upanishad which teach us that we must treasure all the purusharthas in due co-ordination, that after discharging our threefold debt we must aim at moksha, that we must realise that God has made and pervades the world and that we must act without attachment and enjoy by renunication.

धर्मार्थावुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थौ धर्म एव च ।
अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयः त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थितिः ॥ (Manu II, 224)
ऋणानि त्रीण्यपाकृत्य मनो मोक्षे निवेशयेत् ॥ (,, VI, 35)
ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किंच जगत्यां जगत् ।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुंजीथाः मा गृधः कस्य स्विद्धनम् ॥
कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेत् शतं समाः ।
एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥ (Isa Up. 1, 2)

The Isa Upanishad verses had a supreme appeal to Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. Tagore says: "By following the poet of Isa Upanishad we have come to the meaning of all reality, where the Infinite is giving himself out through finitude...These world-movements are not mere blind movements, they are related to the will of a Supreme Person." (Pages 61, 62, 69 of *Personality*). Mahatma Gandhi says: "If all the Upanishads and all the other scriptures happened all of a sudden to be reduced to ashes and if only the first verse in the Isa Upanishad were left intact in the memory of Hindustan, Hinduism would live for ever." (Young India dated 11th October, 1928 and Harijan dated 30th January, 1937).

Valmiki proclaims the same gospel: Dharma is that force which sustains and consolidates and unifies the world. From Dharma comes wealth and pleasure. Exclusive devotion to Artha (wealth) or Kama (pleasure) is wrong. Dharma, Artha and Kama should be blended.

धारणाद्धर्ममित्याहुः धर्मेण विधृताः प्रजाः ।
यस्माद्धारयते सर्वं त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ॥ (Uttara, p. 1036)
धर्मार्थकामाः किल तात लोके समीक्षिता धर्मफलोदयेषु ।
ते तत्र सर्वे स्युरसंशयं मे भार्येव वश्यानुमता सुपुत्रा ॥
(Bala XXI, 57)

धर्मादर्थः प्रभवति धर्मात् प्रभवते सुखम् ।
धर्मेण लभते सर्वं धर्मसारमिदं जगत् ॥ (Aranya IX, 30)
नाहमर्थपरो देवि लोकमावस्तुमुत्सहे ।
विद्धि मामृषिभिस्तुल्यं केवलं धर्ममाश्रितम् ॥ (Ayodhya XIX, 20)
कामात्मता न प्रशस्ता । (Manu II, 2)
कच्चिदर्थेन वा धर्मं धर्ममर्थेन वा पुनः ।
उभौ वा प्रीतिलोभेन कामेन च न बाधसे ॥ (Ayodhya C, 62)
कच्चिदर्थं च धर्मं च कामं च जयतां वर ।
विभज्य काले कालज्ञ सर्वान् वरद सेवसे ॥ (,, ,, 63)

Moksha is the highest aim of life. But it does not mean that it alone is the sole Purushartha. It is परमपुरुषार्थः, not अद्वितीयपुरुषार्थः ।

आरधयति धर्मज्ञः परलोकं जितेन्द्रियः ॥

Valmiki shows also how without sociological and economic and political roots there could not be the blossom of culture or the fruit of spiritual happiness. Kalidasa who loyally followed in Valmiki's footsteps prays in the Bharatavakya of Sakuntala for good government, universal culture based on religion and individual salvation.

प्रवर्ततां प्रकृतिहिताय पार्थिवः
सरस्वती श्रुतिमहिता महीयताम् ।
ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः
पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः ॥

Valmiki contrasts the hedonistic pleasure-ideal of Ravana in Lanka with the altruistic dharmic ideal of Rama in

Ayodhya. In the Yuddha Kanda Valmiki says that every one was full of the Rama-ideal and became a Rama as far as he could.

Chapters I and II of the Ayodhya Kanda describe all the virtues of Rama in all the aspects of life. He knew the essence of Dharma, Artha and Kama; he knew how to control income and expenditure wisely; he knew all the arts and sciences and theologies; he was a master of the art of government and the art of war, and he worked for the good of all and loved all and rejoiced in their happiness and shared their unhappiness.

धर्मकामार्थतत्त्वज्ञः ।	(Ayodhya I, 22)
आयकर्मण्युपायज्ञः संदृष्टव्ययकर्मकृत् ।	(,, ,, 26)
वैहारिकाणां शिल्पानां विज्ञाता ।	(,, ,, 28)
गान्धर्वे च भुवि श्रेष्ठो बभूव भरताग्रजः ।	(,, II, 35)
सम्यग्विद्याव्रतस्नातो यथावत्साङ्गवेदवित् ।	(,, ,, 34)
श्रैष्ठ्यं शास्त्रसमूहेषु प्राप्तः ।	(,, I, 27)
धनुर्वेदविदां श्रेष्ठः ।	(,, ,, 29)
वृद्धिकामो हि लोकस्य सर्वभूतानुकंपनः ।	(,, ,, 38)
व्यसनेषु च सर्वेषु भृशं भवति दुःखितः ।	(,, II, 40)
उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु पितेव परितुष्यति ॥	(,, ,, 41)

Thus Ramarajya was a Welfare State founded on individual morality and mutual love of all and devotion to God. Social and economic and political virtues will have no solid foundation without individual virtues. He who desires to build a Welfare State on ill-faring minds will construct not a Welfare State but an Ill-fare State. The wise La Rochefoucald says: "The quality of greatness does not consist in having weaker passions or greater virtues than ordinary men but in being inspired by nobler aims." Only men with "nobler aims" can build a real Welfare State. Therefore a sound system of education resulting in sound individual morality is the real backbone and brain of a real Welfare State.

I just now equated Ramarajya and Welfare State. Let me briefly quote here a few definitions of both by great minds;

"The Welfare State is a society in which an assured minimum standard of living and opportunity becomes the possession of every citizen." (*G. D. H. Cole*)

"I say Service State rather than Welfare State: The term Welfare State seems to be a boast." (Roscoe Pound)

"The Welfare State is a system wherein Government agrees to underwrite certain levels of employment, income, education, medical aid, social security, and housing for all its citizens." (*Arthur Schlesinger, Historian*).

"Ramarajya can be religiously translated as the Kingdom of God on Earth; politically translated it is perfect democracy in which inequalities based on possession and non-possession, colour, race, or creed or sex vanish. In it land and state belong to the people, justice is prompt, perfect and cheap, and therefore there is freedom of worship, speech and the press—all because of the reign of the selfimposed law of moral restraint." (*Mahatma Gandhi*)

Far earlier than all these persons, the American Declaration of Independence said on 4th July 1776:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Far earlier than this Kalidasa said that universal education and universal employment and universal justice are the duties of the Government and that the taxation should be for generating economic abundance, just as the sun draws up acqueous vapour to give it back as rain.

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥ (Raghu. I, 24)
प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः ॥ (,, ,, 18)

Far earlier, Vyasa said राजा कालस्य कारणं. And far, far earlier Valmiki said that we must learn Arthasastra to be able to build a sound Welfare State; for otherwise we would be on the animal level (*pasubuddhi*).

अनभिज्ञाय शास्त्रार्थान् पुरुषाः पशुबुद्धयः ।
प्रागल्भ्याद्वक्तुमिच्छन्ति मन्त्रेष्वभ्यन्तरीकृताः ॥ (Uttara 63, 14)
अशास्त्रविदुषां तेषां न कार्यमहितं वचः ।
अर्थशास्त्रानभिज्ञानां विपुलां श्रियमिच्छताम् ॥ („ „ 15)

I urge that the Indian Constitution, though it embodies the essence of the practical political wisdom contained in many modern constitutions and especially the British and American Constitutions, one unwritten and the other written, is also loyal to the Indian concept and ideal of Ramarajya. Article 38 affirms that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life. Article 39 affirms that every citizen has the right to an adequate means of livelihood; that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community should be so distributed as best to subserve the common good; and that the operation of the economic system should not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. Article 41 affirms the right of every person to education and to work and to social security. Especially and basically Indian are the articles 40, 43, 47 and 48 which stress the organisation of village panchayats, a living wage etc. for all, cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas, prohibition of liquor and drugs injurious to health, organization of agriculture and animal husbandry, and prohibition of the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draft cattle.

Valmiki teaches these and other cognate ideals in his own charming and convincing way. A social system based on freedom from hate, an economic system based on freedom from want, and a political system based on freedom from fear are his fundamental ideals. Let me first take the social system. It is based on the concept that character (*Sila*) is higher than mere birth. *Sabari* was as much venerated and loved by Sri Rama as Vasishtha or Visvamitra or Sarabhanga or Sutikshna. What Rama values is the blend of heroism, and tenderness and compassion and self-sacrifice (*sura* and *saranya*). It does not matter if the body is that of a bird or an animal or a human being. Rama says to Lakshmana;

सर्वत्र खलु दृश्यन्ते साधवो धर्मचारिणः ।
शूराः शरण्याः सौमित्रे तिर्यग्योनिगतेष्वपि ॥

(Aranya, LXVIII, 24-25)

In Ramarajya all followed the Rama ideal and there were no caste arrogances and superiority complexes, group exploitations and oppressions, no group hatreds and clashes. All were happy and righteous and united.

सर्वं मुदितमेवासीत् सर्वो धर्मपरोऽभवत् ।
राममेवानुपश्यन्तो नाभ्यहिंसन् परस्परम् ॥

(Yuddha, CXXXI, 100)

But what is the good of social unity without economic independence and prosperity and justice? Valmiki says that in Ayodhya there were no destitutes or very poor persons. There might have been and there was economic disparity. But no family was without sufficient money and foodstuffs and cattle or lived in a state of want and destitution and ignorance and squalor. There were no illiterates or ignoramuses. The rich were not miserly, avaricious or cruel. The poor were not bent on spoliation or direct action. All were contented and all were munificent according to capacity.

तस्मिन् पुरवरे हृष्टाः धर्मात्मानो बहुश्रुताः ।
नरास्तुष्टा धनैः स्वैः स्वैरलुब्धाः सत्यवादिनः ॥
नाल्पसंनिचयः कश्चिदासीदस्मिन्पुरोत्तमे ।
कुटुम्बी यो ह्यसिद्धार्थोऽगवाश्वधनधान्यवान् ॥
कामी वा न कदर्यो वा नृशंसः पुरुषः क्वचित् ।
द्रष्टुं शक्यमयोध्यायां नाविद्वान्न च नास्तिकः ॥ (Bala, VI, 6-8)
नामृष्टभोजी नादाता न क्षुद्रो वा न तस्करः । (,, ,, 11)

How was this balanced economic system attained? It was made possible by encouraging equally and effectively all the workers and cultivators, industrialists and traders, artisans and artists. There were associations and unions (pugas, srenis, etc.) of such persons to attend to their interests and to co-operate with the State for the promotion of their welfare. Valmiki describes the able and loyal workers who went with Bharata and his army when he went to bring Rama back. He

refers to such craftsmen as potters, tool-makers, peacock-tail fan-makers, cutters of precious stones, ivory workers, perfumers, goldsmiths, carpet-weavers, actors, singers, dancers, master-builders, carpenters, masons, wall-painters, water-diviners, well-borers and others:

अथ भूमिप्रदेशज्ञाः सूत्रकर्मविशारदाः ।
स्वकर्माभिरताः शूराः खनका यन्त्रकास्तथा ॥
कर्मान्तिकाः स्थपतयः पुरुषा यन्त्रकोविदाः ।
तथा वर्धकयश्चैव मार्गिणो वृक्षतक्षकाः ॥
सूपकाराः सुधाकाराः वंशकर्मकृतस्तथा ।
समर्था ये च द्रष्टारः पुरतस्ते प्रतस्थिरे ॥ (Ayodhya LXXX, 1-3)

मणिकाराश्च ये केचित्कुंभकाराश्च शोभनाः ।
सूत्रकर्मकृतश्चैव ये च शस्त्रोपजीविनः ॥
मायूरकाः क्राकचिकाः रोचका वेधकास्तथा ।
दन्तकाराः सुधाकारास्तथा गन्धोपजीविनः ॥
सुवर्णकाराः प्रख्यातास्तथा कम्बलधारकाः ।
स्नापकोच्छादका वैद्या धूपकाः शौण्डिकास्तथा ॥
रजकास्तन्तुवायाश्च ग्रामघोषमहत्तराः ।
शैलूषाश्च सह स्त्रीभिर्ययुः कैवर्तकास्तथा ॥

(Ayodhya, LXXXIII, 12 to 15)

These verses refer also to persons who can handle machines. Valmiki refers also to the need for careful attention to agriculture in respect of both dry and irrigated lands and to the digging of wells and reservoirs and to animal husbandry and industries and trade and commerce.

कच्चिच्चैत्यशतैर्जुष्टः सुनिविष्टजनाकुलः ।
देवस्थानैः प्रपाभिश्च तटाकैश्चोपशोभितः ॥ (Ayydhya C, 43)
अदेवमातृको रम्यः श्वापदैः परिवर्जितः ।
परित्यक्तो भयैः सर्वैः खनिभिश्चोपशोभितः । (,, ,, 45)
कच्चिज्जनपदः स्फीतः सुखं वसति राघव ॥ (,, ,, 46)
कच्चित्ते दयिताः सर्वे कृषिगोरक्षजीविनः ।
वार्तायां संश्रितस्तात लोको हि सुखमेधते ॥ (,, ,, 47)

Varta includes agriculture and industry and commerce; and Karukuseelava Karma includes the work of technicians and artisans and artists. The sixty-four arts include fine and the decorative and the useful and the industrial arts. Valmiki refers to ocean-going ships and ships heavily laden with cargo. (Sundara, LVII, 4, and Kishkindha, XVI, 24)

But a socialistic and egalitarian society should be based not only on a mere increase of production or a wide but not rigid and compulsory equal distribution of necessaries and comforts but also on proper taxation and a proper administration of the taxes for the welfare of the underprivileged groups. Even this is not enough. The main basis is the glad giving of the means of a full life by the richer to the poorer groups. The Bhagavata says:

धर्माय यशसेऽर्थाय कामाय स्वजनाय च ।
पञ्चधा विभजन्वित्तमिहामुत्र च मोदते ॥

Sri Vinobaji's movement is this noble principle of social ethics in operation.

But social equality and inter-dependence as well as economic freedom and equality and justice and prosperity will be unstable without political stability and independence. In the chapter on Arajaka (a country without a Government) the ills and calamities of life are lucidly and correctly described.

नाराजके धनं नास्ति नास्ति भार्याप्यराजके । (Ayodhya LXVII, 11)
नाराजके जनपदे कारयन्ति सभां नराः ॥ (,, ,, 12)
नाराजके जनपदे प्रभूतनटनर्तकाः ।
उत्सवाश्च समाजाश्च वर्धन्ते राष्ट्रवर्धनाः ॥ (,, ,, 15)
नाराजके जनपदे वणिजो दूरगामिनः ।
गच्छन्ति क्षेममध्वानं बहुपण्यसमाचिताः ॥ (,, ,, 22)
नाराजके जनपदे योगक्षेमः प्रवर्तते ॥ (,, ,, 24)
नाराजके जनपदे स्वकं भवति कस्यचित् ।
मत्स्या इव नरा नित्यं भक्षयन्ति परस्परम् ॥ (,, ,, 31)

In the Kachchit chapter (Ayodhya C) the blessings of good Government are fully described:

प्रहृष्टनरनारीकः समाजोत्सवशोभितः ।

सुकृष्टसीमा पशुमान् हिंसाभिः परिवर्जितः ॥ (Ayodhya C, 44)

In our era of deficit budgets, we shall do well to remember Rama's question to Bharata in the same chapter:

आयस्ते विपुलः कच्चित्कच्चिदल्पतरो व्ययः । („ „ 54)

Valmiki proclaims also through the mouth of Rama the unity and integrity of India.

इक्ष्वाकूणामियं भूमिः सशैलवनकानना ।

पशुपक्षिमनुष्याणां निग्रहानुग्रहावपि ॥

(Kishkindha, XVIII, 6)

Rama punishes as a judge Vali for his incest which was a violation of Indian law and for his breach of the divine law of forgiveness and protection of refugees (शरणागतिशास्त्र) in relation to Sugriva. Ravana was punished for his invasion of Janasthana and his oppression of godly men.

Last but not least is the conception of heroism at two levels. Punishment of the transgressor of dharma is one level. But the higher level is the level of forgiveness of the penitent transgressor. Rama was more happy about अस्त्रसंहार, the withdrawal of weapon, than about अस्त्रप्रयोग or the use of weapons and अस्त्रोपसंहार or the withdrawal of weapon after use. In the same way Britain and U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. must learn to abstrain from the use of nuclear weapons. In the famous verses about his Vrata (vow), he says:

गृहीतास्त्रोऽस्मि भगवन् दुराधर्षः सुरासुरैः ।

अस्त्राणामहमिच्छामि संहारं मुनिपुङ्गव ॥

(Bala, XXVII, 2)

Rama's desire was not to destroy Ravana but Ravanatva (the sin of Ravana). The pain and anguish of the bird shot by the hunter were the source of Valmiki's poem. Karuna Rasa is the main rasa in the poem. When Lakshmana is on the war path in regard to Dasaratha, Rama says:

धर्ममाश्रय मा तैक्ष्ण्यं मद्बुद्धिरनुगम्यताम् ।

(Ayodhya, XXI, 44)

When Lakshmana is again in wrath in regard to Sugriva, Rama says, that a hero is not a killer of life but a killer of the passion to kill:

पापमार्येण यो हन्ति स वीरः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥

(Kishkindha, XXXI, 6)

When Ravana was hard pressed and routed, Rama gives him a chance to retire and if possible mend himself and mend his sin rather than end himself. This lesson should never be forgotten in this age of egoistic and jingostic tensions and atom bombs and hydrogen bombs. Quite recently Britain has begun to make hydrogen bombs and Sir Winston Churchill said: "We shall by a process of sublime irony have reached a stage when safety will be the sturdy child of terror and survival the twin-brother of annihilation." And even if war is inevitable there should be no scorched earth policy or decimation of civilians or destruction of monuments and works of art and bridges and other valuable creations of human effort. Kalidasa says of Raghu—

मरुपृष्ठान्युदंभांसि नाव्याः सुप्रतरा नदीः ।
विपिनानि प्रकाशानि शक्तिमत्त्वाच्चकार सः ॥ (IV. 31)

War, if it is to happen at all, must preserve and promote civilisation and culture and happiness and not destroy the same.

Such is the conception of the ideal human being in an ideal State in an ideal world. May this gospel abide with us for ever and ever.

वाल्मीकिगिरिसंभूता रामसागरगामिनी ।
पुनातु भुवनं पुण्या रामायणमहानदी ॥

May the Holy River of Ramayana, rising from the Valmiki Mountain and speeding towards the Rama Ocean, purify the whole World!

श्रीगीतगोविन्दे पाठपरीक्षणम्*

श्री. रा. अनन्तकृष्णशर्मा
(सङ्गीतविभागाध्यक्षः, श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वर - प्राच्यविद्याविमर्शालयः, तिरुप्पदि)

ॐ तत्सत् । नमस्सदसे । नमस्सदसस्पतये ।

महाशयाः ! सहृदयाः !

जयदेवकृतौ गीतगोविन्दामृतसागरे ।
परीक्षे पञ्चषान् बिन्दून् गानवैशद्यलोभतः ॥

तत्र किञ्चिदादौ प्रस्तूयते । पाठ्ये गेये च मधुरतया श्रीमद्रामायणरचनां निरूढवान् भगवानादिकविर्वाल्मीकिः । मधुरगुणेन कोमलतां कान्तिं च संयोज्य संदर्भशुद्धा पदावली प्रथनीयेति जयदेवपण्डितकवेः सङ्कल्पः । स च सर्वथा सिद्धार्थोऽभूद्गीतगोविन्द इति निश्प्रचम् । ते च माधुर्य - कोमलता-कान्तयस्त्रयो गुणाः काव्येऽस्मिन् शब्दार्थोभयगता इति केषाञ्चिद्व्याख्यातॄणामाशयः । किन्तु, मन्ये, शब्दरचनायामेव ते भूयिष्ठमवभासन्ते । युक्तं चैतत् । गीतगोविन्दं खलु विशिष्य गेयं काव्यम् । सत्यं सन्ति परश्शतं पद्यानि श्रुतिसुखान्यत्र । तेषु, चतुर्विंशतिगेयप्रबन्धेषु च श्रीराधामाधव-विषयिणी कवेर्गभीरा भक्तिभावना, विप्रलम्भसंयोगशृङ्गारभावनारूपेण परिणता, बहुधा समुल्लासिता च कविना । आधिभौतिका आध्यात्मिकाश्च ते ते जगद्विजयिनो भावाः सहृदयहृदयसर्वङ्कषतया परिस्पन्दिताश्चानेन सुमनसा जयदेवेन । किन्तु राग-ताल-लय-निबद्धास्ते चतुर्विंशतिः प्रबन्धा एव जयदेवकवेरुपज्ञारथं नियम्य समचालयन्निति विनापि सूक्ष्मेक्षिकाम् अवगम्यत एव । आपादचूडमपि तेषु गेयेषु लयानुबन्धिनी तालव्यदन्त्य-वर्णप्राया, अन्तरान्तरा परसवर्णैरनुस्वारैश्चार्द्रीकृता, असंयुक्तवर्णमयी अनुस्यूतानुद्वेजकसमासविलासा, यतिस्थानसुविश्रान्तपदवाक्यरुचिरा अनन्य-साधारणी शय्या प्रथमास्वाद एव कस्य रसिकस्य श्रवणपथे न निषिञ्चति सुधाम् ! न चेदृशी रीतिर्गीतगोविन्दगतपद्यसन्दर्भेषु कविना सप्रयत्नं निवेशिता इत्यपि सुग्रहमेव ।

---

* Lecture delivered on the *Jayadeva Day* celebrated under the auspices of the Madras Samskrit Academy on 19-2-55.

'यमुना-तीर-वानीर-निकुञ्जे मन्दमास्थितम् ।
प्राह प्रेमभरोद्भ्रान्तं माधवं राधिकासखी ॥'

इति पद्यं पठित्वा अनुपदमेव—

'निन्दति चन्दनमिन्दुकिरणमनुविन्दति खेदमधीरम् ।
व्यालनिलयमिलनेन गरलमिव कलयति मलयसमीरम् ॥'

इति पदमपि गायन् को नाम सहृदयः उभयोर्बन्धतारतम्यं न जानीयात् ? अतो गीतगोविन्दगताः सन्दर्भगुणा विशिष्य शाब्दाः; अतश्च गानानुभाव्याः । तदनन्तरमेव यथारुचि यथाधिकारञ्च गायकाः श्रोतारश्च तद्गतान् अर्थ-भावविशेषान् आस्वादयन्तीत्यन्यदेतत् । मम बाल्ये कौमारे च वयसि, संस्कृतभाषायां सर्वथा अशिक्षिता अपि अनेका ग्रामीणा सुवासिन्योऽन्याश्च गीतगोविन्दप्रबन्धान् समग्रमनुसन्दधानाः कमप्यानन्दमनुबभूवुः, अनुभावयाञ्चक्रुरिति च मदीया स्मृतिरद्यापि न मलिनायते ।

गीतगोविन्दस्य जयदेवोपज्ञं गानक्रमश्च बहोः कालात्पूर्वमेव केनापि हेतुना उत्सन्नो बभूवेति हन्त चिन्तेयं दुष्परिहरैव । जयदेवादनन्तरं द्विशतवत्सरेष्वसमाप्तेष्वेव समुत्पन्नः कुम्भकर्णभूपतिः गीतगोविन्दं व्याख्यास्यन्नेव-माह :—

'प्रत्यज्ञायि प्रबन्धो यो जयदेवेन धीमता ।
न तस्य विद्यते लक्ष्म सर्वाङ्गैरुपलक्षितम् ॥ (प. १'५) इति ।

अतश्च,

'गीते जयदेवकृते धातुं कुम्भो नृपस्तनुते'—(२०)
'स्वर-पाट-तेनकानां करोति गुम्भं सुमानार्थम्' (२१) इति च ।

किन्तु चित्रमिदं यत्कुम्भभूपतेर्मुद्रितायां टीकायां तेन गुम्भितानां स्वर-पाट-तेनकानां गन्धोऽपि न गोचरीभवति । नृत्यमात्रोपयोगिनः पाटा-स्तेनकाश्च तिरोभवन्तु नाम । गानमात्रलुब्धानां मादृशां न किञ्चित्तावता छिद्यते । यदि गेयानां स्वरक्रमः प्राचीनो व्याख्यात्रा सम्पादितः, स्वयं कल्पितो वा लभ्येत, तर्हि धन्या भवेम वयम् । किञ्च कुम्भभूपतिना निर्दिष्टाः रागास्तालाश्च अभिनवतया तेन कल्पिता एव, न त्वनूचाना इत्युत्प्रेक्षणीय-मस्ति, यतस्ते मूलग्रन्थनिर्दिष्टेभ्यो रागतालेभ्यः सर्वथा विभिन्ना एव टीकायां दृश्यन्ते । अन्यच्च, स्वयमुद्दिष्टानामपि रागतालानां लक्षणं दिग्दर्शकतयापि

नानुगृहीतं तेन । अतः खलु सन्दिह्यते यत्कुम्भकर्णस्य समग्रा व्याख्या नैवोपलब्धा; उपलब्धा वा केनापि हेतुना समग्रं न मुद्रिता इति । इममेव मार्गमनुरुन्धाना अन्येऽपि मया परिचिताः टीकाकृतो गीतगोविन्दशब्दरचनामन्यथान्यथा सविस्तरं विवृण्वाना अपि तन्नादशरीरनिर्वचने सर्वथैवोदासत इति चित्रीयते चेतः ! क्वचिदपि तैरुल्लिखिता रागलक्षणश्लोकाश्च आरोहावरोहाभ्यासलङ्घनादिकं रागस्वरूपं सर्वमपहाय, तत्पत्नीः पुत्रान् वाहनानि वस्त्रभूषणानि, विलासान् विभ्रमांश्च विवृण्वानाश्चित्तमुद्वेजयन्ति, विनोदयन्ति वा । एवं च गीतगोविन्दप्रबन्धरागप्रकारो बहोः कालात् प्रतिदेशं प्रतिग्रामं प्रतिव्यक्ति च यथायथं विभिन्न एव प्रचलतीति नायं विस्मयनीयो विषयः ।

इयमेव दशा तालानामपि । किन्तु निबद्धेषु प्रबन्धेषु यथा रागाणां विपर्यासः सुकरः न तथा तालानामिति सुविदितमेतत्, यतो रागो गायकाधीनः; तालस्तु प्रायशः प्रबन्धस्य वर्णविन्याससरणिमनुबध्नाति । अतश्च यत्किञ्चिद्गीतं येन केनापि वा रागेण संयोज्य सञ्चारयितुं शिक्षितगान्धर्वाः सर्वेऽपि शक्नुवन्ति । तालं पुनर्विभेत्तुम्, कालमानस्य वैविध्येन, क्रियाणां च विभिन्नतया गीताक्षराणि सङ्गृह्य, निगृह्य, विस्तीर्य, निगीर्य प्रयोक्तव्यानि भवन्ति । अथापि तत्राप्यस्त्येव कश्चिदाकुलीकरणस्यावकाशः । अत एव जयदेवप्रबन्धास्तत्र तत्र विभिन्नैस्तालैर्निबध्य गीयन्ते । पुराप्यगीयन्त । यतो मुद्रिते मूलग्रन्थ एव विस्पष्टचतुरश्रगतिकस्य 'रासे हरिमिह विहितविलासम्' इति गीतस्य, सुग्रहमिश्रगतिकस्य 'मामियं चलिता विलोक्य वृतं वधूनिचयेन' इति गीतस्य च 'यतितालेन गीयते' इत्येव निर्देशो दृश्यते ! व्याख्यातारोऽपि भिन्नानेव तालान् स्वच्छन्दमुद्गिरन्तीत्यपि पुनरुक्तिरेव । यतोऽत्र 'रासे हरिम्' इति गीतस्य वर्ण-यति-ताल इति कुम्भः, प्रतिमठताल इति शङ्करमिश्रः, रूपकताल इति लक्ष्मीधरश्च निरदिशन् । प्राचीनैर्बहुधा प्रस्तीर्य लक्षिताननन्तान् मार्गदेशीयतालान् सप्रश्रयमेवोदास्य, पञ्चशतवत्सरेभ्यः प्रागेव केचन विवेकिनो वाग्गेयकाराः सप्त 'सूळा'दितालान् ध्रुवमठ्यादिसंज्ञकान् आदितालमष्टमञ्च प्रचारयन्ति स्म । तत्रापि शालीनबुद्धयो वयमद्यतना आदि-रूपक-त्रिपुट-झम्पाभिश्चतुर्भिरेव तालैर्गानक्रियां भूयशो निर्वहन्तो वर्तामहे । किञ्चातः परमपि सौलभ्यलुब्धाः सशब्दक्रियामात्ररूपैः 'चापु'तालैः गीतानि वाहयामः । अतश्च अद्य

गीतगोविन्दप्रबन्धानां रागतालचर्चया न किमपि साधनीयमुत्पश्यामि । परन्तु यथानुकूल्यं यथारुचि च रागांस्तालांश्च नियोजयतामपि गायकानामस्ति कश्चन नियामको निबन्धमूलद्रव्यभूतो लय इति न विस्मर्तुं शक्यते । लयश्च कालखण्डानां तालेषु परस्परमन्यूनाधिकं साम्यम् । स च चतुरश्र त्र्यश्र-मिश्र - खण्ड - सङ्कीर्णभेदैः पञ्चविधः प्रचलतीति सुविदितमेव । तत्र गीतगोविन्दे चतुरश्र-मिश्र-खण्डा एव गतयः प्राधान्येन प्रपञ्चिताः स्फुरन्ति । त्र्यश्रा सङ्कीर्णा च गतिर्न कुत्रापि साक्षान्निवेशितेत्यपि सुग्रहमेव । इमे च त्रयो गतिभेदाः, अस्पष्टा अपि ध्रुवपदेषु, प्रबन्धखण्डभूतेषु पदेषु नियतमात्रामापकैर्गुरुभिर्लघुभिरक्षरैर्विस्पष्टमेव प्रकटीक्रियन्ते । केवलमेकस्मिन् 'वहति मलयसमीरे' इत्यादिके दशमे प्रबन्धे गतिर्गुप्ता दुरूहा दृश्यते । तत्र खलु पञ्चस्वपि पदेषु प्रत्येकं चत्वारि खण्डानि । प्रथमे मात्राः एकादश; द्वितीये नव; तृतीये दश; तुरीये पुनरेकादश । प्रतिखण्डमयमीदृश एव गुरुलघुनिवेशः श्रुतिगोचरीभवन् विस्माययति । अस्मिंश्च मात्राणामीदृशे नियते विषमनिवेशे कीदृशीं गतिमनुरुध्य गीतं निर्वाह्यमित्यत्र न मे मितंपचा धीः प्रसरति । आनन्दभैरवीरागे आदितालेन निबध्य कैश्चिद्गीयमानमिदं जाने । किन्तु तत्र गीताक्षराणां वैरूप्यमेव भूयशः श्रवणकुहरं भिनत्ति । अन्येषु सर्वेषु प्रबन्धेषु गुरु-लघु-विन्यासपरीक्षया लयगतिः सुग्रहा भवतीति निश्चेतुं शक्यते ।

लघुरेकमात्रकः, गुरुर्द्विमात्रक इति खलु पद्यच्छन्दोविदां नियतः सम्प्रदायः । गीतच्छन्दोगानां तु मते लघुगुरुवर्णयोर्नियतमात्रान्यूनतैव दोषाय; न तु मात्राधिक्यम् । तच्च प्रत्युत गुण एव भवतीति विश्रुतमिदं वाग्गेयकारसम्प्रदाये । अयञ्च जयदेवकवेरसाधारणो रचनाचातुरीविलासः यदयं लघुगुरुवर्णानां मात्रानियममिमं न कुत्राप्याकुलयति । केवलं पादावसाने खण्डान्ते वा गानसौकर्यकाङ्क्षया अक्षरमात्रामानं दीर्घयति । तच्च खलु वृत्तच्छन्दोविदामप्यनुमतमेव । पादान्तस्थो लघुर्विकल्पेन गुरुर्भवतीत्यनुजानानास्ते पद्यानां गीताभासतामेव सूचयन्तीत्यास्तां तावत् ।

एवमक्षराणां गौरवलाघवविन्याससूचितया दिशा लयगतिमुत्प्रेक्ष्य गीतगोविन्दप्रबन्धान् गातुकामानां तत्र तत्र मुद्रिताः व्याख्यातृभिरङ्गीकृताश्च कतिचन पाठाः कण्ठेगडूयन्ते । तथा हि—

१. प्रथमप्रबन्धे प्रतिपदमपि अर्धान्तयोः 'वेदं - खेदं, पृष्ठे - रिष्ठे, लग्ना - मग्ना' इत्यादिविधया गुरुद्वन्द्वं दशसु पदेषु निवेशितं नियमेन दृश्यते । किन्तु पञ्चमे पदे—

'छलयसि विक्रमणे - बलिमद्भुतवामन ।
पदनखनीरजनितजनपावन'—

इति भगणो निवेशितः । स च गानपरिपाटीमाकुलयति । विशिष्य प्रथमार्धे 'बलिमद्भुत वा....' इति चतुरश्रगणद्वयानन्तरम् 'मन' इति लघुद्वयेऽन्तिमस्य दीर्घीकरणमावश्यकं गणद्वयान्तरपूरणाय । तदा प्रथमो लघुरनाश्रयः सन् कण्टकायते । कथमपि तालं लयञ्च निरुह्य गायकैर्गातुं शक्यत इत्यन्यदेतत् । अक्षराणां सामानाधिकरण्यभङ्गोऽत्र नियतमनुभूयत एव । सर्वत्रान्यत्र गुरुद्वयं नियमेन निबद्धवतो जयदेवकवेः अत्रैकत्र प्रतिभा पङ्गूबभूवेति तु न विमर्शसहम् । किञ्च 'केशव धृतवामनरूप - जय जगदीश हरे' इति ध्रुवपदे यथापुरमवतारविशेषं निर्देक्ष्यतः कवेः, पूर्वमेव 'अद्भुतवामन' इति पुनर्वक्तव्ये का सङ्गतिः? अद्भुतवामनेति विशेषणविशेष्ययोः समासोऽपि - सत्यं नासाधुः - किन्तु शूररामः, सुन्दरकृष्णः इतिवत् अरुन्तुदः सहृदयानामसाम्प्रदायिकतया । अतोऽत्र 'अद्भुतजवन' 'जनपवन'—इति वा, ईदृशो वा कश्चन पाठभेदः स्यादित्युत्प्रेक्षे ।

२. 'कथितसमयेऽपि हरिरहह नय यौवनम्' इत्यादिके त्रयोदशे प्रबन्धे सप्तमपदे ,

'अहमिह निवसामि नगणितवनवेतसा'

इति पाठः कुम्भकर्ण-शङ्करमिश्राभ्यामङ्गीकृतो विवृतश्च दृश्यते । पञ्चमात्राकैर्गणैर्गुम्भितेऽस्मिन् प्रबन्धे पदखण्डमिदं 'अहमिह निवसामि न - गणितवन-वेतसा' इति विभक्तव्यं भवति । तदा मात्रामानस्य परं कुशलमेव । किन्तु 'वसामि न' इति जगणपूर्विका गतिः मात्राच्छन्दस्सु न साधारणी । यत आदिलघुर्यगणो मध्यगुरुर्जगणश्च गतिलयमपथे प्रवर्तयतः । आदिममेकं लघुं समनन्तरवर्ती गुरुः स्वप्राबल्येन दुर्बलयति, ततश्च गणस्वरूपं भिद्यते इत्यनुभवगम्योऽयं पन्थाः । किन्तु अद्यावधि अमुद्रितायां 'श्रुतिरञ्जनी'-टीकायां लक्ष्मीधरसूरिः—

'अहमिह वि - निवसामि - नविगणित वेतसा' इति पाठमादृतवान् । स च उचिततर इति मन्ये ।

३. 'स्मरसमरोचितविरचितवेषा' इत्यादिकस्य चतुर्दशगीतस्य ध्रुवपदे—

'कापि मधुरिपुणा - विलसति युवतिरधिकगुणा'—

इति पाठो मुद्रितः । 'सह विलसति युवतिः' इति कुम्भकर्णगृहीतः पाठः । शङ्करमिश्रेण लक्ष्मीधरेण च सहशब्दो न गृहीतः । सर्वत्रास्खलितचतुरश्रगति-निबद्धं गीतमिदम् । तत्र 'कापि मधुरिपुणा' इत्ययं पूर्वो ध्रुवपदखण्डः, 'विलसति युवतिरधिकगुणा' इत्ययं तूत्तरः खण्ड इत्यन्तिमो 'णा'कार-प्रासः स्फुटयति । उत्तरखण्डान्तिमणावर्णस्य चतुर्मात्राकं गुरुत्वमिति, तत्पूर्वा द्वादशमात्राकास्त्रयश्चतुरश्रगणा इति च गीतरचनास्वाभाव्येन स्फुरत्येव । किन्तु सहशब्दघटिते उत्तरखण्डे 'सह विलसति युवतिरधिकगु....' इति त्रयोदशमात्राः, तद्विघटिते 'विलसति युवतिरधिकगु....' इत्येकादश मात्रा भवन्ति । तदा षोडशमात्राकस्य खण्डस्य लयनिर्वाहाय णाकारः पञ्चमात्रावान् त्रिमात्रवान्वा कर्तव्य इति सर्वथा व्यधिकरणेयं पाठगतिः । अज्ञातकर्तृके अमुद्रिते कस्मिंश्चिदान्ध्रव्याख्याने* व्याख्याता 'विलसति युवती-रधिकगुणा' इति पाठं संस्कृतवान्, प्रायः 'अपि माषं मषं कुर्यात्' इत्याभाणकं शरणयन् । किन्तु, अत्र 'सह लसति युवतिरधिकगुणा' इति पाठः संस्कारमर्हति । लसति, विलसतीत्यनयोः ईषत्करोऽर्थभेदः ।

४. अथैकोनविंशे 'वदसि यदि किञ्चिदपि' इति गीते खण्डलय-निबद्धे ध्रुवपदमेवं मुद्रितम्—

'प्रिये चारुशीले मुञ्च मयि मानमनिदानम्—' इति । पूर्वप्रतिपादित-रीत्या 'प्रिये चा....' इति आदिलघोर्यगणस्य नान्यत्र कुत्रापि गणादौ निवेशो जयदेवेन कृतः । 'प्रिये' पदमेव प्रथमं व्याख्येयतया गृहीतवन्तौ शङ्करः कुम्भश्च । लक्ष्मीधरस्तु 'प्रिये - अचारुशीले' इत्यपि विभजन् इममेव

* कोशोऽयं श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरप्राच्यपरिशोधनालयग्रन्थभाण्डागारे (तिरुप्पदि) वर्तते ।

पदानुक्रमं स्पष्टमभिमनुते । आन्ध्रटीकाकृदेकः 'चारुशीले प्रिये' इति पठति । किञ्च 'चारुशीले प्रिये चारुशीले' इति द्विरावर्त्य गतिगणसंख्यामपि चतुरश्रयन् गायकान् समादधाति ।

५. किञ्च । अस्यामेवाष्टपद्यां षष्ठे पदे—
'भण मसृणवाणि करवाणि चरणद्वयम्
सरसलसदलक्तकरागम्'—

इत्यत्र 'दलक्तक' इत्यस्थानप्रविष्टो जगणः श्रवणमुद्वेजयति । अयं कुम्भनृपालेन स्वीकृतो व्याकृतश्च पाठः । शङ्करश्च तमेवानुबध्नाति । लक्ष्मीधरस्तु 'सरससदलक्तकसरागम्' इति रुचिरं पठन् व्याचकार । आन्ध्रटीकाकारस्तु 'सरसदालक्तकसरागं' इति पठन् 'सरसत् - आलक्तक' इति विभज्य विवृतवान् । लक्ष्मीधरपाठः साधीयानिति सुव्यक्तमेव ।

६. एवमष्टम्याम् 'रजनिजनितगुरुजागरराग' इत्यादिकायाम् अष्टपद्यां चतुर्थे पदे—

'चरणकमलगलदलक्तकसिक्तमिदं तव हृदयमुदारम्' इत्येव कुम्भशङ्करलक्ष्मीधरास्त्रयोऽपि पेठुः । चतुरश्रगतिभरितेऽत्र प्रबन्धे मध्यमकस्मादेव प्रविष्टो 'दलक्तक' इति पञ्चमात्रको गणो जगणादिश्च श्रवणरुजामुत्तेजयति । तत्र लकारस्य संयुक्तपूर्वस्यापि लघूच्चारणेन निर्वाहस्तु अगतिकत्वे गतिः । अत्रापि आन्ध्रटीका 'चरणकमलगतलक्तकसिक्तम्' इति पठित्वा परां लयौचितीमाविर्भावयति । अलक्तकवाची लक्तकशब्दोऽप्यस्तीति आधुनिकाः विल्सन्, विलियम्स्प्रभृतयो नैघण्टुका अभिप्रयन्ति । परन्तु प्राचीनेषु अभिधानकोशेषु अद्य यावन्न कुत्रापि लक्तकशब्दो मया लक्षितः । नाप्यन्यैः कविभिः प्रयुक्तः परिचितः इति किञ्चिदिव सङ्कुचति मनः ।

७. एवमन्तिमे अष्टपदीप्रबन्धे षष्ठे पदे—
'मम रुचिरे चिकुरे कुरु मानद
मनसिजध्वजचामरे'

इत्येव व्याख्यातृत्रयानुगृहीतो व्याकृतश्च पाठः । स त्वेकया मात्रया न्यून इति श्रवणमात्रेण प्रतीयते । इहापि 'मानसजध्वजचामरे' इति पाठमुट्टङ्कयन् आन्ध्रटीकाकृत् गायकसहृदयानामभिनन्दनमर्हति ॥

अनयैव दिशा परीक्ष्य निर्णेयाः सन्त्यन्येऽपि त्रिचतुरा उद्देशाः । किन्तु अतिविस्तराद्बिभेमि । गीतगोविन्दपाठौचितीपरीक्षायां जयदेवपदावल्याः सार्वभौमी लयवैशद्यसम्पत्तिरपि परमुपकरोतीति विजिज्ञापयिषुः तत्रभवतामेतावन्तं कालं व्यनोदयम् । परमनुगृहीतो धन्यश्चास्मि तत्रभवताम् इयता सदयावधानेन ॥

नमो महद्भ्यः !

TRINITY IN SCULPTURE—A FURTHER NOTE

BY

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

Apart from the data set forth in the article printed elsewhere in this Volume,[1] it is also observed that in the 8th-12th century A.D., in parts of Rajputana, there had been a cult of the solar aspect of trinity worship as is evidenced by a number of images of such a type from places like Kaman in Bharatpur, besides from Jodhpur, Chandravati, Ajari Santpur (from Sirohi) and Bhaghera (Ajmer).[2] The trinity type here is actually a Chaturmukha image carved in the round, which has the fully attired and armed depiction of each of the trinities on three sides and the elaborately depicted Surya image on the fourth. What makes them distinctive, however, is the fact that all these four images are carved around a central linga shaft with a rounded top, and this would bestow upon the sculpture a basically Sivaite stamp and would suggest that the cult of Surya worship combined with the trinity aspect had its Vishnu as well as Sivaite varieties and had been very popular in parts of Rajasthan in this period. We have an example of Vishnu Trimurti also exactly similar to the Mathura—Boston image which is fortunately a fully preserved standing image, originally, from Arthuna (Banswara State). This would indicate the limit of its spread. All these images are wrought with such great care and detail in workmanship that it is unmistakably clear that the ideas intended to be conveyed by them had taken root in the minds of the people, and thus the sculptors had been commissioned to work out such images according to definite specifications.

---

1. Pp. 52-56.

2. Examples of these sculptures are found in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

8—9—1954

VEDIC CALENDAR AND THE VEDIC GODS

Sri Ramachandra Krishna Prabhu of Mangalore delivered a lecture on "*The Riddle of the Vedic Calendar and the Vedic Gods.*" Stating that his theory was the one originally held by B. G. Tilak, the lecturer said that the names of most of the Gods mentioned in the Ṛgveda were the names by which the Sun in the different positions of the Artic sky, was called. The lecturer explained at length the different appearance of the rising and setting of the Sun in the polar regions at different times of the year, and the various natural phenomena occurring there. In support of his views, he also exhibited many charts and pictures.

Dr. V. Raghavan thanked the lecturer.

18—9—1954

THE TENTH FOUNDATION DAY

The Tenth Foundation Day of the Institute was celebrated on 18th September, 1954, with the Hon'ble Sri K. Hanumanthiya, Chief Minister of Mysore, in the chair. Earlier in the evening, the Tenth Annual General Body Meeting was held when the Annual Report and the Audited Statement of Accounts for 1953-54 were presented before the Members and were unanimously adopted.

The celebrations included the unveiling of a portrait of the late T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, President of the Institute, from 1946 to 1954. The Foundation Day addresses were delivered by Dr. Ludo Rocher of the Belgian National Foundation for Scientific Research, Ghent University, Belgium, on "Ancient Hindu Criminal Law," and by Dr. M. Dorai Rangaswami of the Tamil Department of the Madras University, on "Saint Sundaramurti and his Thevaram."

The function commenced with prayer after which Dr. V. Raghavan read messages received wishing success to the celebration from Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India and President of the Institute, the Hon'ble Ministers Sri C. Subrahmaniam and Sri Bhaktavatsalam, the Hon'ble Justice

Sri T. L. Venkatarama Iyer, Dr. Rm. Alagappa Chettiar and others.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer presented the Report of the work of the Institute for 1953-54.

Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer then welcoming the Hon'ble Hanumanthiaya said that during the days of eclipse of India's freedom, it was "Princely India" that was the refuge and support of Indian art and literature and the place of Mysore in that respect was particularly brilliant. Mysore was singularly fortunate in having a Royal House whose heads were among the most distinguished connoisseurs of literature, music and arts and very often were themselves masters. It was exceedingly fitting that the Government of Mysore should be carried on now under the auspices of a Chief Minister who found himself effortlessly in sympathy with the great ideals that sustained the State and was doing in a manful way the work of cultural continuity, cultural propagation and conservation that used to be carried on there. Almost the first act of his Ministry was to set up a board for the propagation of India's culture. He was not only a believer in culture but in propagating it also and making use in all legitimate ways of the resources of the State for that purpose. His *Samskriti Prachara Sabha* had done distinguished work for the benefit of the classes and the masses. The distinction between classes and masses in this country, he said, was almost wholly artificial because great men of the past never believed in having a hot house culture of which the masses were not participants. That was why they would find the average man of India very much higher culturally than one could expect in any other country including those which were regarded as being in the vanguard of modern civilisation. The Institute had been doing just the kind of work which Mr. Hanumanthaiya found so acceptable and worth doing.

SRI T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRIAR

Requesting Mr. Hanumanthaiya to unveil a portait of Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, President of the Institute from 1946 to 1953, Mr. K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar said that his passing away was an irreparable loss to the public life of the country and to the Institute. It was fitting that Mr. Hanumanthaiya who was greatly interested in the ancient

culture of the land and in poularising it should unveil the portrait of one who was an embodiment of our culture.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya, unveiling the portrait, said that he did not know Mr. Venkatarama Sastri personally. He had met him, about two years back, for a few minutes, and fourd in him a venerable and impressive personality. He had heard of him, read his speeches and other statements and looked upon him "as one of our great men." When Mr. Sastriar passed away, he left a vacuum in the ranks of our statesmen. Lives of great men were like a laboratory where the student got effective education. They should study not only the merits but also the demerits of men, so that they could know their great work and worth and also learn to avoid pitfalls and mistakes. He wished that such a true appreciation of great men was given to them. Madras City produced very many great men and most of them seemed to be men of Mylapore; Mylapore seemed to be a manufactory of distinguished men, and Mr. Venkatarama Sastri was one of them. He lived 79 years and for more than half a century served his fellowmen.

After referring to the early education and work of Mr. Sastriar as lawyer and Liberal politician, Mr. Hanumanthaiya said that his resignation of Law Membership of the Madras Government became the topic of animated talk throughout the country at the time. He resigned because he considered the allotment of portfolios went against his self-respect. Mr. Sastriar was much bigger than the lawyer or Advocate-General that he was. He took keen interest in matters educational and served on several University bodies and educational institutions. His association with the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute was close and abiding and he was its President from 1946. His contribution to the drafting of the Hindu Code was considerable and he was a great liberal statesman. The Liberal Party in those days was like a brilliant jewel studded with precious stones and he was one such jewel. "We Congressmen," he said, "are like the common iron. But life is sustained more by iron and the suffering it goes through than by gold and precious stones." In the days of the relentless struggle for freedom, the Liberals did not earn the appreciation of the masses. After Independence values had changed and many of the Liberals had been assimilated in the Congress set-up. They had been of immeasurable value in the affairs of the country, and their

knowledge, experience and adjustability had been of immense service. But even here Mr. Venkatarama Sastri stood apart as he did when he resigned the Law Membership and was doing solid social work in Madras. That showed the character of the man that he was not selfish or intent on career and did not make use of his undoubted abilities for personal advancement. The portrait of such a great son of India would be an ornament to the Institute and also inspire students and visitors.

FOUNDATION DAY ADDRESS

Dr. Ludo Rocher then delivered the Foundation Day Address. Introducing him Dr. Raghavan referred to the special work that Dr. Rocher was engaged upon.

Dr. Rocher said: "The Hon'ble the Chief Minister of Mysore, Ladies and Gentlemen!

Until a couple of weeks ago I could never have expected nor even dreamt of receiving an invitation to come to Madras in order to speak to you on this solemn occasion of the Tenth Foundation Day of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. I must confess that from the time I received Dr. Raghavan's letter of invitation until this very day I have been experiencing an inexplicable feeling, rather a conflict of feelings somewhat like those of Gaurī toward Śiva in one of the initial stanzas of Śrī Harṣadeva's Ratnāvalī:

औत्सुक्येन कृतत्वरा सहभुवा व्यावर्तमाना ह्रिया ।

On the one hand, I am filled with joy because the governing body of this Institute thought it fitting to invite me to speak before you on this festive day. But on the other hand, there looms before me a strange humbleness and even fear at the prospect of speaking where the great Professor Kuppuswami Sastri once lived and worked and where everything one sees is reminiscent of him.

My studies in Sanskrit and Indology unfortunately are of too recent a date for me to have known the Professor personally. When he passed away in 1943, I was but seventeen years old, and it was only a few years after that that I deciphered my first Sanskrit text, as in the West the study of Sanskrit does not generally begin before one enters the University. The study of Indology so far away from India itself has at least one advantage, that we can see Indian scholars more in perspective; we meet with many names of authors, editors of

texts, etc., but out of these many names a few stand out much more boldly than the others. And further, among those few, some names are so prominent that they become identified with Indian scholarship generally. I do not think that any Western student of Sanskrit can look at the Northern portion of a map of India with Banaras Hindu University as its centre without thinking of the name of Prof. Ganganatha Jha. In central India his eyes will fall upon Poona and he cannot but think of the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar. Then when his glance reaches Southern India only one place and one great man will straightway flash into his mind: Madras and Professor Kuppuswami Sastri.

For a reason which I myself would find difficult to explain I always feel attracted to the more technical aspects of any literature I take up for study. When I was still a student of Latin and Greek, I preferred to read the philosophical texts of Plato and Aristotle, and even the mathematical works of Euclid and Archimedes. And when I turned towards Indian studies, I started to read śāstraic literature after but a short while. Since I also had been a student of law, it was the dharmaśāstra literature by which I was naturally attracted. But I soon learned that it is impossible to understand and appreciate dharmaśāstra literature by studying dharmaśāstra only. The learned authors of the so-called dharma-nibandhas were at the same time well-versed in all branches of Indian philosophy: they were very familiar with Pūrvamīmāṃsā, Uttaramīmāṃsā or Vedānta, Prācīnanyāya and Navyanyāya, etc. All these great doctrines pervade their works on dharmaśāstra also, and thus it is only natural that a student of dharmaśāstra should want to study these philosophical treatises too. It was in this way that I came into contact with the works of Professor Kuppuswami Sastri. Not only did I come into contact with his works, but I also learned of his conviction that a particular śāstra can be properly studied only by means of a thorough knowledge of so many other śāstras.

In the field of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika there is the Professor's marvellous little book entitled a Primar of Indian Logic. Although primarily based on Annambhaṭṭa's Tarkasaṃgraha, in accordance with the maxim, काणादं पाणिनीयं च सर्वशास्त्रोपकारकम्, it became a real introduction to Indian philosophy in general.

In the field of Advaita Vedānta the Professor has given us the huge tome containing his edition of Maṇḍana Miśra's

Brahmasiddhi. One cannot fail to be impressed with his edition of this text; but even more impressive is the learned introduction with its conclusive evidence against the identity of Maṇḍana Miśra and Sureśvara which was so firmly rooted in tradition.

How unfortunate it is that we only possess one Uddyota of the edition of Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka, not only with the two commentaries, Locana and Kaumudī, but also with the Professor's own Upalocana. That he was equally learned in both Alaṃkāra and Kāvya, in both theory and practice, could not be more evident than from a glance at that wonderful little collection of lectures called 'Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit'.

Although I was not so fortunate as to know the Professor himself, I have at least met some of his students. In this way I became convinced that Kuppuswami Sastri was not only a greater scholar, but even a greater teacher. Not only did he study such classical works as Dhvanyāloka, but it was he himself who made them 'classic': he was the first teacher to make his students study these remarkable texts which even in India were on the verge of being forgotten. The high level of scholarship which several of his students have reached is perhaps the greatest tribute we can pay to his talents as a teacher.

When one is confronted with the learning of a man like Kuppuswami Sastri, he is bound to be more conscious of his own limitations. It is for this reason that I hesitate to speak before you today. I can only ask you to keep in mind what I was once told by our friend Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri with whom I am closely associated in Poona: "We can try, but to reach Kuppuswami Sastri's level is impossible."

Dr. Rocher then spoke on the main subject of his address, "Ancient Hindu Criminal Law" the full text of which is printed elsewhere in this volume.

Concluding his paper Dr. Rocher said: "I have thus tried to point out to you how criminal law gradually became a separate entity in the much more comprehensive Hindu Law. With the introduction of the Indian Penal Code in 1860, however, the criminal aspect of Hindu Law was no longer applied

in the courts. A result of this change has been that all manuals published under the title of 'Hindu Law' since that time do not consider the criminal aspect at all. They are, after all, written for practising lawyers who have need only for guides in their work before the courts.

"I will not discuss here whether the fact that Hindu Criminal Law has been replaced by another system is good or not. But what I must stress is the fact that with the introduction of the Penal Code Sanskritists began to neglect this subject. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of pages on Hindu Criminal Law exist in print, and even more in the form of manuscripts. Except for a very small number of books and few articles in journals this field is practically unexplored. Nevertheless, from my few years' experience, especially in connection with Vardhamāna's Daṇḍaviveka which I translated and explained in the Dutch language which is my mother-tongue and which I plan to render into English, I can assure you that Hindu Criminal Law contains many principles which it would be hard to find in contemporaneous systems of other countries. Some people may contend that the ancient Indian system of punishment was severe; but to this I reply that the Indian system was not only not more severe than it was in other countries in the same remote centuries, but in the ancient criminal law of the Hindus there are many statements which in other countries are only modern inventions. In fact, I dare say that the ancient Indian writings on criminal law are in no respect inferior to any of the other creations of the Indian genius. It is only less known than many of them, but this should be counter-balanced by an intense study on our part.

When I came to India about ten months ago, I was very glad to observe that even now much is being done for the preservation of Sanskrit texts and Sanskrit learning. In this connection I think not only of such institutes as the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, but I also think of huge and valuable projects such as the compilation of the New Catalogus Catalogorum at the Madras University which is now an indispensable source of information on Sanskrit manuscripts to all those working on Sanskrit texts and for which work we had Dr. Raghavan recently in Europe to survey the uncatalogued collections of Sanskrit manuscripts in European libraries, and the Thesaurus of the Sanskrit Language on Historical Principles which is now in progress at the Deccan College in

Poona. Such highly praiseworthy enterprises in which scholars from East and West cooperate, cannot but impress those concerned and interested in the preservation of Sanskrit learning. Many scholars in the West have now learned to appreciate the products of ancient Indian wisdom and devote their lives to the study of them. I am sorry to confess that there was a time when European scholars thought that they were the only ones who were adequately equipped to study Sanskrit and when they did not have much praise for the traditional Indian Pandit. But that has changed now, and Western Sanskritists now try to visit India to work in close association with an Indian paṇḍit for some time. In view of these considerations I earnestly urge you to encourage the traditional study of Sanskrit. This traditional learning should not be lost. I became very much aware of this danger, when after my arrival in Poona, I expressed the desire to study Navyanyāya in the traditional way. Even at home I had tried to master this subtle and intricate doctrine by myself, but I can assure you, without the traditional approach it is impossible. But I had to experience considerable difficulties in securing a competent guru with whom to work in this field; fewer and fewer people in India itself, it seems, study it. Navyanyāya may be the only doctrine in which this happens, but it might also be the symptom of a contagious disease capable of infecting other branches of learning too. Let us destroy this disease before its ravages have spread too far!"

The lecturer then said in Sanskrit:—

"सम्मान्यतमा अध्यक्षमहाभागाः, उपस्थिता भगिन्यो भ्रातरश्च !

इदं मम व्याख्यानमतिविस्तृतमिति बिभेमि । ततश्चेदानीमेव समाप्तिमागच्छतु । पर्यवसानात्प्राक्तु गीर्वाणवाचैव भवत एवं प्रार्थयितुमिच्छामि— गच्छता कालेन एष भारतवर्षस्य दक्षिणभागोऽनेकैः संस्कृतशास्त्रविद्भिरलंकृतः। अत्राप्येतान्येव शास्त्राण्याधुनिकसभ्यताया मूलानि । तस्मात् तच्छास्त्रविद्यमाना विद्या न कदाचिदपि विहीयन्ताम् । पुनर्ये ये बालाः संस्कृतभाषामध्येतुमिच्छान्ति तांस्तान् भवन्तः प्रोत्साहयन्त्वेव । अपि च या या सभाः कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रि-नामकतत्सभावत् संस्कृतभाषाप्रसारणे यतन्ते तास्ताः सभाः सर्वोपायैर्वर्धयन्तु भवन्तः । एतदेव श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिमहाविदुषामपि परमेच्छासीत् । तस्मात् महाध्यापककृतज्ञतयैव तदनुसारेण कर्तव्यमपि ।

इत्युक्त्वा श्रोतृभ्य एतत्सभाधिकारिभ्यश्च धन्यवादं कृत्वा इदानीं भाषणाद् विरमामि ॥

SAINT SUNDARAMURTI

Sri Dorai Rangaswami then delivered his speech on "Saint Sundaramurti and his Thevaram" in Tamil. The speaker said that it was only from the 17th century that the Thevaram of the Saiva Saints came to be known as such, though that term was in usage even earlier but in a different sense. It was also noteworthy that Saint Sundaramurti was not known by that name in the works of Tamil literature. Saint Sundara's verses brimmed with bhakti and he described himself as the servant of all men of God, be they Saivas, Vaishnavas, or people of other faiths or lands. It was the work of such saints which helped to conserve and revive the Vedic religion in the south at a time when Jainism and Buddhism had gained tremendous influence. Many points relating to the life and work of the saint required to be clarified and research had to be directed to this end.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Mr. Hanumanthaiya thanked the two lecturers and said that though he was participating in a function of an institution devoted to promotion of Sanskrit learning he could not bring himself to say that Sanskrit should be made the national language of India. That, however, was not because he loved Sanskrit less or loved his mother tongue or Hindi more; it was because he felt they should be realistic. Sanskrit occupied a very great place in the mental make-up of the people of this land. May be, many people did not know Sanskrit but almost all of them were steeped in its traditions, bore names common in Sanskrit literature and their *acharas* and *vyavaharas* were all moulded on the influence of Sanskrit. With justification, they could say that Sanskrit was the mother of Indian languages. It was the *Moolavigraha* (the image of the Lord installed in the *Sanctum sanctorum* of temples) while the other Indian languages were the *Utsavavigrahas* (the processional images of deities). Hindi was a mixture of many languages and from the point of view of richness or content, Hindi did not deserve to be the national langage, but as a calf grows into a bull a language might develop and grow into a national language. He was glad that the Consti-

143548

tution provided that the existing state of affairs could continue for 15 years. They were fortunate that they had a Prime Minister who did not want to hustle people into any particular course. They had seen the havoc that considerations of language could play in Pakistan-Bengal. One might be tempted to accept the idea that Sanskrit should be the national language of India, but it would not work. It was the *girvana bhasha*; its excellence was great; but it was not the language of the man in the street. In a democratic country, the men in the street were the rulers and their language alone could be the national language. Unfortunately, now there were "too many men in the street" and hence the difficulty in fixing which should be the national language. Some one language would be accepted as the national language. He believed Hindi would develop and grow. What mattered was not the form but the substance and what they wanted was the benefits of knowledge, information, enlightenment and liberalism and it did not matter through which language they got the benefit. English they should admit was one of the languages that could bestow the benefits. They were all moving towards the "one world state" idea. English did play an important part in that connection.

Mysore had done something to give encouragement to Sanskrit studies, Mr. Hanumanthiya said, and the Maharajas of Mysore had always been patrons of learning and art. As part of the new educational system which they were introducing in Mysore and which had received the blessing of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, they proposed to teach in every school not only the Kannada script but also the Devanagari script. Once a child learnt the script it would be a sufficient incentive in later years to learn the language also. That was the contribution to the study of Sanskrit which the Mysore State would soon be making. He concluded with an expression of thanks to the authorities of the Institute for enabling him to participate in the day's function.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hanumanthaiya and the two lecturers of the evening.

19—10—1954

EARLIEST ANTHOLOGY IN SANSKRIT

Prof. D. D. Kosambi of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, a life member of K. S. R. I., spoke about the edition of Vidyākara's Subhāṣitaratnakośa,

on which he was working. Dr. Raghavan introduced the lecturer as a distinguished mathematician who had made recently substantial contribution to Sanskrit textual criticism and referred to his work on the Subhāṣitas of Bhartṛhari. The Subhāṣitaratnakośa is the earliest anthology of Sanskrit verses known thus far. The lecturer said that he had been able to secure a complete manuscript of this rare work from Tibet and later through Dr. Raghavan photo-copies of another Tibetan manuscript of the work in the private collection of Prof. G. Tucci of Rome. On the basis of these materials he was preparing a critical edition which was to appear in the *Harvard Oriental Series.*

Prof. Kosambi also described in detail the numerous textual problems that confronted him in his work, not to speak of the extreme difficulty in deciphering the manuscripts. The author of the anthology could be identified as Vidyākara, a poet patronised by the Pālas of Bengal about 1100 A. D. The work revealed not only some interesting historical facts, but also the names of some hitherto unknown poets.

Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer who presided thanked the lecturer for his informative lecture.

20—10—1954

THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE

Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Joint Director-General of Archaeology, gave an address on "The Great Temple at Tanjore, its Sculptures and Paintings."

Pointing out the social and religious importance of the temple in ancient India, the unificatory influence it exerted among the different classes of the society and the part it played in public life, Sri Ramachandran first gave an account of the history of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore built by Rājarāja Cola (985-1014 A. D.). The renovations and extensions that the South Indian temple had at the hands of succeeding rulers, were referred to and it was explained how, in course of time, the plan of the temple increased in size and additions like the *prākāras, maṇḍapas,* walls, tanks and the like were made. While the earlier Colas concentrated their attention on the *vimāna,* the later Colas paid attention on the *gopurams,* etc.

More than building the temple, the contribution of Rājarāja to the cultural life had been great. He provided the temple he constructed with the biggest *vimāna*, the biggest *lingam* and the biggest *nandi* which had been seen till those days. He filled the temple with pieces of sculpture and painting depicting the *līlās* of the Lord and fixed for eternity his own conceptions in the sphere of dancing and music.

A number of slides representing the magnificent sculptures and paintings found in the Temple were then exhibited.

Concluding, Mr. Ramachandran said that the temple was the centre of the activities of the community of those days. Inscriptions in the temple recorded grants of land etc., results of arbitration, and the deeds of the kings and the like. It was the centre where dramas were enacted. The temples enabled us to learn something of the lives led by our ancients, he said.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer proposed a vote of thanks.

15—12—1954

UNESCO'S ROLE IN ORIENTAL STUDIES

Prof. Herbert W. Schneider, Head of UNESCO's section of Humanistic and Philosophical Studies, explained the efforts made by the UNESCO for cultural intercourse between the East and the West. Mr. N. Raghunatha Aiyar presided.

Introducing Prof. Schneider to the gathering, Dr. V. Raghavan presented a brief report of the activities of the Institute since the celebration of the 10th Foundation Day. He said their classes with the new method of Sanskrit teaching had become more and more popular and a number of children, students and adults were learning the language under the new method. A student from Holland was now learning Sanskrit under the new method and the Institute was responsible for arranging Sanskrit classes for another young student from Germany interested in Sanskrit.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that the UNESCO was one of the most useful agencies of the international organisation. In cultural matters, very often the longest way was also the shortest. If the object was to promote real understanding between different nations and

communities, they should set about it, not in the obviously political way, but by going deep down to the cultural roots of the community. Very often, it would be found that in the origin they, in the several nations, were very much nearer to each other than they found themselves to be now because of the long period of history, which brought in its wake many changes and many camouflaging differences. It was said that the UNESCO had proposed to introduce, as much as possible, oriental studies in the Western Universities. "We in this country, have tried to do something in a reciprocal way very much earlier than it occurred to the West to do. So far as occidental studies are concerned, we have been trying to give our people some insight into the culture and the great civilisation of the West." He was glad that the UNESCO was now taking an essential step in supplementing that work or rather doing the complementary work of making India's culture and civilisation a little more vivid to the great intellectuals and leaders of thought, who were to be found in the Universities of the West and he wished the UNESCO all success. He assured Dr. Schneider that the visit of enlightened and eminent people like him would be greatly welcome in this country, "because we have held all the time, consistently, that there could be really no limit to the amount of cultural intercourse that is possible between the East and the West."

In the course of his address, Prof. Schneider said that the UNESCO was a device to help the several nations and communities to become better acquainted with one another. They were trying to achieve this end by promoting a system of exchange of persons and by a system of mutual and reciprocal aid. The idea of cultural exchange in particular had its origin from the views expressed by the Government of India, that the arts, philosophies, cultures and spiritual values of the Asian and African countries were not as adequately known and appreciated in the West as those of the Western countries were in Asia, and that such a flow of cultural and material ideas was essential to build up a world community in accordance with the objects and programme of the UNESCO. If they wanted to familiarise the West with the East, he went on, it could not be done unless the West were enlightened, to a certain extent, with the history, philosophy, literature and culture of the East. It was

likewise the same in the case of the West trying to introduce their tradition to the East.

Prof. Schneider said that UNESCO was trying to have some elementary books on world history written and made available to people, so that the idea of cultural exchange of the Indian Government would be the beginning of a long enterprise in really trying to have a rudimentary acquaintance of the many cultures and ideas in the world. Before 1957, the UNESCO hoped to publish six volumes giving a general history of the cultural development of mankind. It was a difficult task. His mission was to get technical assistance from those, who were familiar with their own traditions. He urged that they should all work together in the matter in order to get the objective achieved. They were also trying to bring out a short history of mankind in two volumes for the use of students in colleges and they also hoped to translate it into many languages of the world. He hoped that this history which was now being written would, within five or six years, become an international text-book for studying the tradion of mankind.

Prof. Schneider then answered a few questions.

Dr. V. Raghavan proposed the vote of thanks.

3—1—1955

NILAMATA PURANA

Dr. K. De Vreese of Leiden University, Holland, spoke on the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* which is a source-book for the history of Kashmir. Sri N. Raghunatha Aiyar presided. Dr. V. Raghavan introduced the lecturer.

Dr. Vreese gave a brief account of his previous studies on the Nīlamata Purāṇa and his tentative edition of it in 1936 and stated that he was engaged in the preparation of a critical edition of this historical work, one of the objects of his coming to India being to search for new manuscript material. Apart form its historical interest, the work was of considerable interest from the point of view of social customs, religion and the general life of the people. The speaker pointed out that the work was to be considered as a reaction, a renaissance of Brahminism, against Buddhism which at one time had pervaded that part of the country. The work also

gave information about a number of festivals and the wide prevalance of Nāga worship and included a long list of Nāga-names.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer proposed a vote of thanks.

3—2—1955

KALIDASA AND INDIAN ART

Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Joint Director-General of Archaeology, gave a lecture on "Kalidasa and Indian Art".

Mr. Ramachandran pointed out that, in many an ancient painting, sculpture or bronze, it would be found that the theme that had been taken up by the artist was something which reminded them of the classical verses of the great poet, Kalidasa. Kalidasa, he said, was an institution. He was a critic as well as an observer. When he expressed his feelings of pleasure in his verses, he wanted to immortalise them in a manner that would transcend time and be there for posterity to admire and appreciate. That was the key-note of the poetry of Kalidasa. Like all other artists Kalidasa inspired himself, his own generation and all succeeding generations as well, not only in his chosen field of poetry, but also in the different branches of art, such as music, dance, architecture, sculpture, etc.

Mr. Ramachandran explained, with the aid of lantern slides, how several sculptures and paintings found in ancient temples and caves brought out clearly the influence of Kalidasa on the various aspects of art. He also gave copious quotations from Raghuvamsa, Meghasandesa and other works of the poet to illustrate this.

Thanking the lecturer, Dr. V. Raghavan pointed out that in their interpretation, these art motifs could not be exclusively linked to Kalidasa, for, from a strictly scientific point of view, they belonged to the whole range of early epic and classic literature, and some of these could be traced to Valmiki.

29—6—1955

INDIAN CULTURE IN THE FAR EAST

Dr. P. V. Bapat of Poona, who had just returned from Burma and the Far East, gave an interesting lecture on "*Indian culture in the Far East.*" Sri K. S. Ramaswami

Sastri presided. Introducing the lecturer, Dr. Raghavan spoke about the work of Dr. Bapat in the field of Pali and Buddhism, the mission on which Dr. Bapat had travelled in Burma and the Far East, and the close cultural contact that that part of Asia had with India form ancient days.

Dr. Bapat said that the object of his tour was to study the conditions of Buddhism as practised in the Far East, as also the cultural contacts in general between India and those countries. He visited Burma, Siam, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, where Buddhism was still a popular religion. The monasteries in Burma contained rich collections of manuscripts. Many scholars engaged in the study of Pali texts, including Buddhist monks, were much handicapped by the lack of sufficient grounding in Sanskrit which was essential for the proper study of these texts. There was an increasing desire on their part to learn Sanskrit. One of the Buddhist Universities in Bangkok had recently introduced the study of Sanskrit in its curriculum. The Governments in many of these countries were greatly interested in the preservation of the Pali texts and steps were being taken to translate them in the language of those countries.

There were many inscriptions in those lands written in Sanskrit and the ancient buildings in Siam clearly showed Indian influence. In fact in this latter country there were even now temples dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa.

The lecturer also showed with the help of the magic lantern several pictures of ancient structures, inscriptions, religious customs, etc. in those countries.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. Oldrich Fris (1903-55)

We are sad to announce the unexpected passing away of one who was, in recent years, taking the lead in Indological studies in Czechoslovakia, Dr. O. Fris, Professor of Indology at the Charles University at Prague and Chief Editor of the Czechoslovakian Oriental periodical, *Archiv Orientalni.* The latest issue of this periodical carries his last contributions, one of which is "Two Readings of the Kaṭhopaniṣad."

Henry Deydier
(1922-1954)

In the premature death of Henri Deydier by a plane accident on 4th December, 1954, the French School of the Far East in particular and the world of Oriental scholars in general have sustained an irreparable loss. Hardly thirty-two years old, this scholar had established a name in interpreting to the western world the art and culture of Indo-China. Born in 1922, he had his training under Przyluski, Granet, Foucher, Renou and Filliozat. He was taken as a Member of the French School for the Far East in 1950 and in the same year came to Indo-China as a Member of the National Centre for Scientific Research. He was later Conservator of the Louis Finot Museum at Hanoi and was delegated to Luang Prabang by the School to open a Study Centre when he met his death.

A keen student of archaeology and art, his critical and analytical bibliographical work '*Contribution to the study of the Gandhara Art*' won him a prize. Other lines of research of young Deydier were investigation on the spread and infusion of Buddhism in Indo-China, and the ramification of the Rāmāyaṇa in the Far East, in Laos, Java, Malaya, Siam, Khmer and other places. On both these subjects Deydier has made extensive local investigations and has recorded the results of his researches in different Oriental journals; two articles of his have been published in this journal, '*Rāmāyaṇa in Laos*' in Vol. XXII, pp. 64-66 and *Indianistic Researches in Laos*' in the present issue, pp. 9-14.

SRI GIRIJA SHANKAR BAJPAI
(1891—1954)

We are deeply grieved to record the demise on the 5th December, 1954, of one of the distinguished sons of modern India, Sri Girija Shankar Bajpai, lately Governor of Bombay. Sri Bajpai was one of the Life Members of the K.S.R. Institute and was closely associated in public life with our Founder-President, the Rt. Hon'ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastriar. Sri Bajpai was also, as Governor of Bombay, sometime President of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and at the inauguration of the work of the Critical Edition of the Harivamsa at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, by Rashtrapati Rajendra Prasad in November, 1954, he made a timely appeal for a specific place for Sanskrit in the Second Five Year Plan.

M. CLAUDE JOURNOT

We are deeply grieved to record here the tragic death at a very young age of Monsieur Claude Journot, till recently Cultural Attache of the French Embassy in India; he met with a fatal car accident in Paris on 19th September, 1955. He was keenly interested in promoting contacts among Indian and French Indologists and we gratefully recall his good offices during Dr. Raghavan's tour of Europe for work on Sanskrit manuscripts. He took an active part in the founding of the French Indological Institute at Pondicherry.

SVAMI KEVALANANDA SARASVATI
(1879—1955)

The world of traditional learning in India has sustained an irreparable loss in the demise of Svami Kevalananda Sarasvati on 1st March, 1955. A Pandit of great erudition, especially in Mīmāmsā and Advaita Vedānta, the Svami was the founder of the Prājña Pāṭhaśālā and the Swadhyaya Mandal, Wai. He edited the *Śrutisārasamuddharaṇa* of Toṭakācārya with commentary and wrote an original commentary on the Mīmāmsā Sūtras. His *Kauṣītāki Brāhmaṇāraṇya-kośa* was issued in 1954. His magnum opus, the *Mīmāmsākośa*, is only partly published (Vols. I-III), and the rest is under print. The Svamiji had a number of disciples of whom the name of Lakshman Shastri Joshi, compiler of the *Dharmakośa* may be specially mentioned.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Wonder that was India. By Dr. A. L. Basham, xi, 568. Sidgwick and Jackson, London. 45 sh.

The book is published in a series in which have appeared already similar volumes devoted to the 'glory' of Greece, the 'grandeur' of Rome and the 'splendour' of Egypt. The author is the Reader in Indian History in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, and has already to his credit a book on the Ājīvikas. He has recently been in India and brings to his task therefore both his wide reading and personal knowledge of the country. Dr. Basham belongs to the younger generation of Indologists who vouchsafe the future of Indic studies in Britain.

In a book of this type, one naturally does not look for anything new, but the plan and field covered may exhibit noteworthy features by virtue of which the production may answer a need. Thus, this is, first of all, not a book of history understood in the narrow sense of the word; as its descriptive sub-title states, it surveys the whole culture of the Indian sub-continent, in its undivided dimensions, up to the coming of the Muslims. Political history is just one of the ten chapters of the book, which devotes equal attention in the other chapters to Polity, Sociology, Everyday life, Religion, Arts, Language and Literature. The sub-sections of the chapters and the appendices, show an adequate comprehension of the various phases of the life and thought of ancient India and as the author hopes in the Preface, the book, though primarily intended for Westerners, may be of interest to Indian students also, in view, especially, of the composite Indology course now gaining vogue in Indian Universities. The bibliographies and references, and the hundred and fifteen plates and drawings add to the usefulness and attraction of a book which has been excellently produced.

Dr. Basham describes himself in the Preface as a 'friendly *Mleccha* who has great love and respect' for the civilization of India, and concluding his introductory account of the discovery of India by the West, he says that the initiative for Indological studies now comes from Indians themselves and that the European Indologist cannot hope to be more than the

helper and friendly critic of the Indian. These observations show indeed a new attitude to the study of Indian culture, and as we read through the book we see not merely repetitions of the well-known Orientalist-opinions on things Indian, but refreshingly enough, on many questions, a modified or moderated view, an open or fair appraisal and not infrequently a striking opinion or warm appreciation.

The book carries for illustration as well as for justification of views many renderings of passages from Sanskrit texts; these, the author admits, are free renderings; we are afraid they are too free; it appears that even at the expense of elegance, a literal translation should be given; this is all the more necessary when some criticism is offered on the basis of a text, e.g., passages from *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* cited out of context on pp. 141-3, and the two *Manu*-passages cited on p. 144. Down to Dr. Gonda of Utrecht, a number of European scholars have shown that the Frog-hymn of the Ṛgveda is not a satire on Brahmans (p. 140). Besides the three plays, three poems and the Ṛtusaṃhāra, Kālidāsa is said to have written several other works which have not survived (p. 419), which is wrong, for, barring the doubtful *Kunteśvaradautya* no other work of the poet is known. The 'remarkable description' cited from Kālidāsa on p. 421 is unfortunately from the unaccepted later cantos of the *Kumārasambhava*. On p. 80, a number of political texts are said to survive which again is wrong, for none others than the three mentioned by the author are known. The short paragraph on Nyāya (p. 323) takes no note of the real religious side of the Naiyāyikas which is a well-known chapter of Śaivism and attested by extensive epigraphy. Bharata does not mention thirty or more *Rāgas* (p. 382); in fact, he mentions no *Rāga*. On p. 433, we read, "There was no regular theatre", a statement contradicted by the evidence of many plays and the express description in one whole chapter, the second, of three types of theatres and their architecture, by Bharata in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

In the section on Hindu Militarism, the author says (p. 123) that "positive condemnation of war are rare in Indian literature". This does not represent the case properly, for there is no context of war in any work of Indian literature where there is no disapproval of it, where we do not find it argued first that success in battle was a doubtful matter and where the battle was not brought forward as the last and

unavoidable expedient. On p. 150, the statement that Vaiśyas were rare in the Dravidian country takes no note of the *Chettis*, the *Śreṣṭhins*, whom Tamil literature and inscriptions show as a powerful community.

The Cola bronze in plate LXVIII, is not Śiva Dakṣiṇāmūrti; it is the detached Śiva from a Somāskanda-group. Plate LXX is not Kālī as demoness playing cymbals, but the Śaivite lady Saint, Kāraikkāl Ammayār. On p. 480, under efforts at Hindu-Muslim eclecticism, Dara Shikoh's name should have been added to that of Akbar.

Some Sanskrit words are wrongly cited or incorrectly transliterated: e.g. Satṛ (p. 121) for Satrin, aṣṭapāda (spider) for aṣṭāpada (dice) (p. 208).

The book is remarkable for some of the considered opinions of the author on some well-known questions and subjects:

P. 21. Regarding the so called dancing girl among the finds of Mohenjo Daro, he says, "It is not certain that the girl is a dancer, much less a temple dancer". I had always doubted its identification as a Devadāsī.

P. 25. On the vexed question of who the Mohenjo Daro people were, the author is not prepared to be dogmatic about their being Dravidian. "We can only say with certainty that some of the inhabitants of the Indus cities were of a type widely found further to the West, and that their descendants must survive in the present-day population of India."

P. 62. Summing up his estimation of the Dravidian character as borne out by Tamil literature, he says: "a streak of ruthlessness and disregard for individual life is evident in in the Dravidian character down to the fall of Vijayanagar."

P. 79. He does not believe that Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra is as old as the 4th century B.C., but opines that a short Mauryan original might have been enlarged in the pre-Gupta times.

P. 146. On caste: "Thus the Indian class system was always somewhat fluid." Following Hutton, he also opines that the caste-labyrinth may well be the natural response of the many small and primitive peoples who were forced to come to terms with a more complex economic and social system and that it did not develop out of the four Aryan Varṇas.

P. 151. On slavery: "Indian slavery was milder," and "slaves were much less numerous than in the civilizations of

the West". "India, unlike most ancient civilizations, was never economically dependent on slavery." (p. 153).

P. 172. On sexual perversions: "In this respect ancient India was far healthier than most other ancient cultures."

P. 191. On corporate life: "This strong sense of the community was one of the chief factors in the survival of Hindu Culture."

P. 242. On Samsāra and Karma: "magnificently logical Indian doctrines."

P. 345. On religious persecution: "......there is no good evidence of the persecution of any of these non-Indian sects."

P. 417. The conclusions of Indian Alaṅkāra Śāstra, in broad outline "would not be inacceptable to many modern poets of the West."

P. 9. Regarding the charge of pessimissm usually laid against the Indian attitude to life, the author considers this view wrong and says that "*the Indian character is neither lethargic nor unhappy.*" "*India was a cheerful land, whose people, each finding a niche in a complex and slowly evolving social system, reached a higher level of kindliness and gentleness in their mutual relationships than any other nation of antiquity.*"

Attention may particularly be drawn to the assessment of the significance of Indian culture to the West, a topic which the reviewer and the author now and then conversed about while the book was still under production in London. The author deals with the topic both at the opening and the conclusion of his book: Summing up the 'glory of ancient India', the author says (pp. 8-9): "*Yet our over all impression is that in no other part of the ancient world were the relations of man and man, and of man and the state, so fair and humane*". "*No other ancient law-giver proclaimed such noble ideas of fair play in battle as did Manu.*" "*To us the most striking feature of ancient Indian civilization is its humanity*".

How does the prospect for the future strike this 'friendly critic' from abroad? He thinks: "......the Indians of coming generations will not be unconvincing and self-conscious copies of Europeans but will be men rooted in their own traditions, and aware of the continuity of their culture......We believe that Hindu civilization is in the act performing its most spectacular feat of synthesis........The charm and the graciousness

of the Indian way of life will continue, however much affected it may be by the labour-saving devices of the West.........The quiet and gentle happiness which has at all times pervaded Indian life......will surely not vanish before the more hectic ways of the West. The crown of World's debt to India is in India's spiritual heritage which "is no longer the heritage of India alone, but of all mankind" (p. 487).

V. RAGHAVAN

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE ECONOMY OF BENGAL FROM 1704 TO 1740 by Sukumar Bhattacharya, Professor of History, Asutosh College, and Lecturer, Calcutta University. Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1954.

While considerable work is being done on the political history of our country and our knowledge of it has also grown in recent years a study of its economic history is still in its infancy; and from that point of view the first half of the eighteenth century is a rather neglected chapter in the history of our country. The book under review which won for its author Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, attempts to supply a real need and treats of the history of the East India Company in relation to the economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740 in six well proportioned chapters devoted respectively to a consideration of subjects like the trade relations of the Company with the Indian powers and the other European trading settlements, the operations of the mints and currency, conditions of the market and trade and the general economic life in the country. The student working on this period of the history of Bengal is handicapped by the lack of materials in India. But Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya has made the best use of the available ones.

Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya traces the relations of the Company with the governments of Delhi and Bengal, and shows that though there was much fault-finding on both sides on matters like slavery, imprisonment of soldiers and allegations regarding private trade, the first four decades of the eighteenth century saw a steady strengthening of its position in the economy of Bengal. But it had commercial rivals in the Dutch, French, the Danes and the Ostenders. However, the meteoric career of the Ostend Company in Bengal was too much for the other European trading companies, particularly

the Dutch and the English and made them follow a policy calculated to make the Ostenders of little consequence in the political and economic life of Bengal. In the fourth chapter dealing with the mints and currency the author shows how the East India Company had to cope with the opposition of the banking and trading communities in Bengal led by the house of Jagat Seth, who as the banker of the Government regulated the supply of bullion and the coining of money at the mint.

Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book are the fifth and sixth which treat of markets and trade and the general economic conditions in Bengal during the period. Bengal then occupied a distinct position in the world market and there was an extensive foreign inland trade. Many kinds of articles of trade entered the market, and various methods were adopted by the Company in carrying on trade in the province. The author gives a clear picture of the evils of private trade and *dastaks* practised by the Company's servants. Bengal goods, particularly textiles and calicoes, had captured the English market to such an extent that laws were passed against their importation into the country. The exports from Bengal were generally in excess of imports which necessitated the flow of specie into it. The economy of Bengal was, however, based largely on custom and tradition. Capital was locked up in the hands of a few who lacked enterprise and a majority of the people were poor with no resources. Certainly there was no enlightened middle class to form the backbone of a healthy social system. But this was not peculiar to Bengal, for similar conditions prevailed in other parts of the country also, as for instance in the Carnatic.

Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya has given us an eminently readable book and made a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the East India Company in Bengal in the first half of the eighteenth century. Such objective regional studies made with reference to particular periods and regions are welcome as they are bound to enable one to view and understand the history of the evolution of the English East India Company in its proper perspective.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

SOUTH INDIAN POLITY by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, University of Madras, Madras, 1955. Pp. x, 485. Price Rs. 13.

Dr. Mahalingam rightly observes in his preface that "we do not have in one handy volume a comprehensive and descriptive survey of the whole subject (*i.e.* South Indian Polity) laying emphasis on its historical evolution". His book which covers the region south of the Vindhyas and the period from the earliest times to the fall of Vijayanagar is a very useful compendium which brings together much information gathered from inscriptions, old literature, occasional publications and general histories of kingdoms and empires. Polity is a very elastic term in our context and means much more than government or constitution in the western sense of these words. Our traditional ideals and the practice of our rulers over a long period of time derive from concepts of society, state and government, of law, rights and duties which are broader in their extent and deeper in their hold on the people than the corresponding notions of the West which can be historically traced back to Hellenic and Hebrew sources. It has proved a most difficult and a very unrewarding task to attempt an orderly presentation of the social ideas and the political behaviour of the Hindu from the point of view of a late nineteenth century English political science committed to the dogmas of evolution and progress in the realm of ideas and the history of institutions. Our own writers who wrote in English about our ancient and mediaeval politics were handicapped first because they took the contemporary western approach to political questions to be more basic and universal than it was and secondly by an anxiety to vindicate our past against the allegation that it was different from that of England or France. The latter handicap has now gone with the end of British rule and the first will pass away with increasing knowledge of diverse contemporary societies. But while they lasted these hindrances to a normal and independent study of our past obliged our writers to fit facts and conclusions into a predetermined pattern of alien design. Though a new and satisfactory native pattern has not yet emerged a writer today is free to assemble the facts and let them speak for themselves. It is the merit of Dr. Mahalingam's book that this is mostly what it does. The author refrains from generalisation and offers no theory of origin, adaptation or change.

There are eight chapters in the book on Kingship, the Council and the Secretariat, Finance, Law and Justice, the Army and Foreign Policy, Provincial government, and Local government. The first chapter is naturally the longest because kingship has been the central and most vital Hindu institution. The author gives here an assiduous and impressive collection of data from various sources throwing much light on courts and coronations, on succession and regency and collateral matters. The last chapter describing local government is the second longest chapter in the book which is also to be expected because local government has a longer and better record in the south. On the debated issues in this field Dr. Mahalingam has noted the differences and offered conclusions which are free from idiosyncracy and exaggeration and this chapter is very fully documented. In fact copious and careful documentation is the outstanding quality of the entire work. In the intervening chapters the author has drawn more fully from the field of his special study, the Empire of Vijayanagar, whose administrative and economic histories he has written in two previous volumes.

All through the book facts are plentiful and accurate and they are set out tidily unencumbered by tendentious comment. Dr. Mahalingam must also be congratulated for avoiding the usual asperity in dealing with *Pūrvācāryas* though he is rather hard on Kanakasabhai Pillai more indeed for what others made out of him than what that admirable dilettante and pioneer had said. Students of Indian polity have thus much reason to thank Dr. Mahalingam for his *South Indian Polity* which is an indispensable book of reference to scholars interested in our institutions. The index is exhaustive and the bibliography adequate. The book is got up in the generous way adopted by the University of Madras in more spacious times. It is to be hoped that in the second edition the volume will be cheap and handy enough for the reader to buy and keep.

R. Bhaskaran

A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC

BY

MM. PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI

SECOND EDITION

Rs. 10

LECTURES ON THE RAMAYANA

BY

THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SECOND EDITION

Rs. 10

	RS.	AS.	PS.
The Ānandaraṅgacampū, a historical Kāvya by Śrīnivāsa, ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan with historical Introduction, Notes and Sanskrit Commentary ...	4	0	0
The Poet as a Sthitaprajna by K. Chandrasekharan ...	1	0	0

Mahāmahopādhyāya

LAKSHMANA SURI'S WORKS

1. Bhagavatpādābhyudayam (mahākāvya) ...	1	0	0
2. Ghoṣayātrā or Yudhiṣṭhirānṛśaṁsyam (drama) ...	0	6	0
3. Nalopākhyāna-saṅgraha ...	0	5	0
4. Gurustavamālā ...	0	4	0
5. *Bhāratasaṅgraha*	(In the Press)		

APPLY TO

THE SECRETARIES

KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

MYLAPORE, MADRAS—4

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

	Rs. A. P.
1. **Vibhramaviveka** of Maṇḍana Miśra—edited by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri and T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar ..	0 12 0
2. **Vinavasavadatta** (an old Sanskrit drama) edited by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja ..	0 8 0
3. **Tolkappiyam** with an English translation by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Vol. I ..	1 0 0
4. **History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil** by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri ..	6 0 0
5. **Dhvanyaloka & Locana** of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta with Kaumudī by Uttuṅgodaya and Upalocana edited by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Sri T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar and Dr. T. R. Chintamani, Uddyota I ..	8 0 0
6. **The Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume.**	3 0 0
7. **Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit** by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri ..	2 0 0
8. **Compromises in the History of Vedanta** by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri ..	1 4 0
9. **The Primer of Indian Logic** by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri (2nd Edn.) ..	10 0 0
10. **Sankara Bhagavatpada** by Prof. P. Sankaranarayanan ..	0 4 0
11. **Kuppuswami Sastri Memorial Volume** ..	2 0 0
12. **Tolkappiyam-Porul-Atikaram-Tamil Poetics with English Transliteration, Translation and Notes,** 2 Parts by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri ..	4 0 0
13. **Literary Criticism in Sanskrit and English** by Prof. D. S. Sarma ..	1 0 0
14. **Fundamental Aspirations of Man according to Indian Thought** by K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar ..	1 0 0
15. **Grahacāranibandhana of Haridatta** (A Source-book of Kerala Astronomy) edited by K. V. Sarma.	1 0 0
16. **The Journal of Oriental Research.** Annual Subscription ..	8 0 0

Copies can be had of: **The Secretaries**

The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute

Mylapore, MADRAS-4.

466. அளவியல் வகையே யனைவகைப் படுமே.

Aḷaviyal vakai-y-ē y-aṉai-vakai-p paṭum-ē.

The classification of *aḷaviyal* is of the sort mentioned above.

Note: Nothing will be materially lost in the absence of this *sūtra*. It may be said that this *sūtra* suggests that the description of *aḷaviyal* is over.

467. எழுநிலத் தெழுந்த செய்யுட் டெரியின்
அடிவரை யில்லன வாறென மொழிப.

Eḻu-nilat t-eḻunta ceyyuṭ ṭeriyiṉ
Aṭi-varai y-illaṉa v-āṟ-eṉa moḻipa.

Of the stanzas in the seven kinds of poetry, six ? limited in extent, *i.e.*, there is no restriction of feet.

Note:—Cf. the *sūtra* 385.

468. அவைதாம்
நூலி னான வுரையி னான
நொடியொடு புணர்ந்த பிசியி னான
ஏது நுதலிய முதுமொழி யான
மறைமொழி கிளந்த மந்திரத் த
கூற்றிடை வைத்த குறிப்பி ன

Avai-tām
Nūli-ṉāṉa v-uraiyi ṉ
Noṭiyoṭu puṇarnt ... *ṉpa.*
Ētu nutaliya m ... that *piṇṭam* may have
Maṟaimoḻi k ... *am*, or sūtra alone or *sūtra*
Kūṟṟiṭai

They are ... taken here also.
mutumoḻi (r ... is the *tadbhava* of *piṇḍa* which means
suggestive ...

469. ... The same idea about *piṇṭam* is expressed by the
... *mūṉṟu uṟuppu aṭakkiya* in the *sūtra* 471 above.
this sūtra does not seem to serve any useful purpose.

What is *urai*?

476. பாட்டிடை வைத்த குறிப்பி னானும்
பாவின் றெழுந்த கிளவி யானும்
[1]பொருண்மர பில்லாப் பொய்ம்மொழி யானும்

1. பொருண்மரபில்லா (இளம்.); பொருளொடு புணரா (பேரா.).

Tokaiyiṉ-um vakaiyiṉ-um poruṇmai kāṭṭi
Uṇṇiṉ ṟ-akaṉṟa v-uraiyoṭu puṇarntu
Nuṇṇitiṉ viḷakka l-atu-v-ataṉ paṇp-ē.

Of them, *nūl* is that wherein a topic is dealt with from beginning to end without impropriety, sometimes concisely and sometimes in detail, full of suggestions clearly seen.

470. அதுவே தானு மொருநால் வகைத்தே.
Atu-v-ē tāṉ-u m-oru-nāl vakaitt-ē.

It consists of four parts.

471. ஒருபொரு ணுதலிய சூத்திரத் தானும்
இனமொழி கிளந்த வோத்தி னானும்
பொதுமொழி கிளந்த படலத் தானும்
மூன்றுறுப் படக்கிய பிண்டத் தானுமென்று
ஆங்கனை மரபி னியலு மென்ப.
ı-poru ṇutaliya cūttirat tāṉ-um
oḷi kiḷanta v-ōtti ṉāṉ-um
i kiḷanta paṭalat tāṉ-um
b-aṭakkiya piṇṭat tāṉ-um-eṉṟu
bi ṉ-iyalu m-eṉpa.

consists of *sūtras* dealing with one
g with one minor topic, *paṭalam*
ior topic and *piṇṭam* consisting
ned above.

47

Oṉṟ
Oṉṟē ya

One is within the
not forbidden, to make use

479. ஒப்பொடு புணர்ந்த வுவம
தோன்றுவது கிளந்த துணிவி
என்றிரு வகைத்தே பிசிநிலை வகை
Oppoṭu puṇarnta v-uvamat tāṉ-um
Tōṉṟuvatu kiḷanta tuṇivi ṉāṉ-um,
Eṉṟiru vakaitt-ē pici-nilai vakai-y-ē.

Riddle is of two kinds: one that is suggested throug point of comparison and the other that is suggested througe tradition.

480. நுண்மையுஞ் சுருக்கமு மொளியு முடைமையும்
மென்மையு மென்றிவை விளங்கத் தோன்றிக்
குறித்த் பொருளை முடித்தற்கு வருஉம்
ஏது நுதலிய முதுமொழி யென்ப.

What is *ōttu*?

473. நேரின மணியை நிரல்பட வைத்தாங்கு
ஓரினப் பொருளை யொருவழி வைப்பது
ஓத்தென மொழிப வுயர்மொழிப் புலவர்.

Nēr-iṉa maṇiyai niral-paṭa vaittāṅkŭ
Or-iṉa-p poruḷai y-oru-vaḻi vaippatŭ
Ōtt-eṉa moḻipa v-uyar-moḻi-p pulavar.

Scholars of refined tongue say that, of them, *ōttŭ* is the collection of *sūtras* dealing with the same topic in a beautiful order like gems of the same kind in a garland.

Note. *Avaṟṟuḷ* is taken here from the previous *sūtra.*

What is *paṭalam*?

474. ஒருநெறி யின்றி விரவிய பொருளான்
பொதுமொழி தொடரினது படல மாகும்.

Oru-neṟi y-iṉṟi viraviya poruḷāṉ
*Potu-moḻi toṭariṉ-atu paṭala m-ākur*ı.

Of them, *paṭalam* is a section of a major topic which consists of chapters dealing with diverse topics under the same.

Note. *Avaṟṟuḷ* is taken here also.

475. மூன்றுறுப் படக்கிய தன்மைத் தாயின்
தோன்று மொழிப் புலவரது பிண்ட மென்ப.

Mūṉṟuṟup p-aṭa'kkiya taṉmait t-āyiṉ
Tōṉṟumoḻi-p pulavaratu piṇṭa m-e

Scholars of current literature say
all the three—*sūtra, ōttu* and *paṭa'*
and *ōttŭ* alone

Note 1. *Avaṟṟuḷ* is t
Note 2. *Piṇṭam*
the *whole.*

Note 3.
adjunct r
Hence

பொருளொடு புணர்ந்த நகைமொழி யானுமென்று
உரைவகை நடையே நான்கென மொழிப.

Pāṭṭiṭai vaitta kuṟippi ṉāṉ-um
Pā-v-iṉ ṟ-eḻunta kiḷavi yāṉ-um
Poruṇ-mara p-illā-p poymmoḻi yāṉ-um
Poruḷoṭu puṇarnta nakai-moḻi yāṉ-um-eṉṟu
Urai-vakai naṭai-y-ē nāṉk-eṉa moḻipa.

The course of *urai*, they say, is of four kinds:—the connecting link in the middle of a verse, the commentary in the form of prose, fabulous sayings and sayings creating laughter.

477. அதுவே தானு மிருவகைத் தாகும்.
Atu-v-ē tāṉ-u m-iru-vakai-t t-ākum.

It ... of two kinds.

Note. ... in *sūtra* 476 ... *Iḷampūraṇar* says that each of the four mentioned ... may be with reference to men or women. He then adds in hi... commentary under the next *sūtra* that *atu* may refer to *poru*...*ḷoṭu puṇarnta nakai-moḻi*. But what they two are is not mentio...ned. *Pērāśiriyar*, on the other hand, mentions that the above four may be clubbed into two, the former two into one and ... the latter two into the other.

...8. ஒன்றே மற்றுஞ் செவில... க் குறித்தே
...ஒன்றே யார்க்கும் வரைநி... யின்றே.
... *maṟṟuñ cevilik k-uri*... *-ē*
... *kkum varainilai y-*... *ṟē.*

... province of *cevili* ... and the other, all are ... of.

... தானும்
... னும்
... யே.

... the
...

Nuṇmai-y-uñ curukkam-u m-oḷi-y-u m-uṭaimai-y-um
Meṉmai-y-u m-eṉṟ-ivai viḷaṅka-t tōṉṟi-k
Kuṟitta poruḷai muṭittaṟku varūum
Ētu nutaliya mutumoḻi y-eṉpa.

They say that *mutu-moḻi* (proverb) intended to suggest the reason of the desired object is couched in elegant, short, bristling and tender expressions.

Note. *Mutu-col* is the word used in the *sūtra* 385 to denote *mutu-moḻi.*

481. நிறைமொழி மாந்த ராணையிற் கிளக்கும்[1]
மறைமொழி தானே மந்திர மென்ப.
Niṟai-moḻi mānta r-āṇṇiyiṟ kiḷakkum
Maṟai-moḻi tāṉ-ē mantira m-eṉpa.

They say that *mantra* whose meaning is not explicit is the production of the mind of seers whose words never fail to have its effect.

Note. *Mantiram* is expressed by the word *vāy-moḻi* in the *sūtra* 385.

482. எழுத்தொடுஞ் சொல்லொடும் புணரா தாகிப்
பொருட்புறத் ததுவே குறிப்பு மொழியே.
Ēḻuttoṭuñ collotum puṇarā t-āki-p
Poruṭ-puṟat tatu-v-ē kuṟippu moḻi-y-ē.

Kuṟippu-moḻi is that which suggests a meaning outside the range of the literal meaning of the words.

Note. *Iḷampūraṇar* says that, since the author uses the word *aṅkatam* in *sūtra* 385 and *kuṟippu-mōḻi* here, it should refer to *vacai. Pērāśiriyar,*, on the other hand, says that *vāymoḻi* of *sūtra* 385 corresponds to *kuṟippu-moḻi. Pērāśiriyar's* view does not seem to be sound.

483. பாட்டிடைக் கலந்த பொருள வாகிப்
பாட்டி னியல பண்ணத் திய்யே.[2]
Pāṭṭiṭai-k kalanta poruḷa v-āki-p
Pāṭṭi ṉ-iyala paṇṇat tiyyē.

Paṇṇatti is that which is in the form of a *pāṭṭu* which is capable of being sung.

Note. *Pērāśiriyar's* meaning is totally different.

---

1. கிளக்கும் (இளம்.) ; கிளந்த (பேரா.).
2. ஏ (இளம்.); இயல்பே (பேரா.)

It is this:—*Paṇṇatti* is a composition where poetry and prose are mingled and which treats of an old topic.

484. அதுவே தானும் பிசியொடு மானும்.
Atu-v-ē tāṉ-um piciyoṭu māṉum.

It has the same number of feet as *pici*.

Note. *Pērāśiriyar* necessarily differs from *Iḷampūraṇar* here also. He tells us that this too is within the province of *cevili* as *pici* and the *um* suggests that it may resemble *poymmoḻi* and *nakai* found in *sūtra* 476.

485. அடிநிமிர் கிளவி யீரா றாகும்.
Aṭi-nimir kiḷavi y-īr-ā ṟ-ākum.

The number of feet of *paṇṇatti* is of twelve kinds:—four, five, six etc.

486. அடியிகந்து வரினுங் கடிவரை யின்றே.
Aṭi-y-ikantu variṉuṅ kaṭi-varai y-iṉṟē.

It is not prohibited if the number of feet exceeds them.

Note. *Iḷampūraṇar* reads this *sūtra* and the previous one as one, while *Pērāśiriyar* reads them as two.

487. [1]கிளரியல் வகையிற் கிளந்தன தெரியின்
அளவியல் வகையே யனைவகைப் படுமே.
Kiḷariyal vakaiyiṟ kiḷantaṉa teriyiṉ
Aḷaviyal vakai-y-ē y-aṉai-vakai-p paṭum-ē.

The classification of *aḷaviyal* is of so many kinds if it is examined on the lines of those mentioned above.

488. கைக்கிளை முதலா வேழ்பெருந் திணையும்
முற்கிளந் தனவே முறையி னான.[2]
Kaikkiḷai mutal-ā v-ēḻ-peruṉ tiṇai-y-um
Muṟ-kiḷaṉ taṉa-v-ē muṟaiyi ṉāṉ-a.

The seven major *tiṇais* commencing with *kaikkiḷai* have already been described in their order.

489. காமப் புணர்ச்சியு மிடந்தலைப் படலும்
பாங்கொடு தழாஅலுந் தோழியிற் புணர்வுமென்று
ஆங்கநால் வகையினு மடைந்த சார்வொடு
மறையென மொழிதன் மறையோ ராறே.

---

1. கிளரியல் (இளம்.); கிளரிய (பேரா.).
2. முறையினான (இளம்.); முறைநெறி வகையின (பேரா.).

Kāma-p puṇarcci-y-u m-iṭantalai-p paṭal-um
Pāṅkoṭu taḻāal-un tōḻiyir puṇarvum-eṉṟu
Āṅka-nāl vakaiyiṉ-u m-aṭainta cārvoṭu
Maṟai-y-eṉa moḻitaṉ maṟaiyō r-āṟ-ē.

The way of sages well-versed in *Vēdas* is to say that *kaḷavu* consists of meeting through love, obstacles on the way, winning the help of a friend by the hero and meeting the lady through the help of lady's friend.

490. மறைவெளிப் படுதலுந் தமரிற் பெறுதலும்
இவைமுத லாகிய வியனெறி திரியாது
மலிவும் புலவியு மூடலு முணர்வும்
பிரிவொடு புணர்ந்தது கற்பெனப் படுமே.
Maṟai-veḷi-p paṭutal-un tamariṟ peṟutal-um
Ivai-muta l-ākiya v-iyaṉeṟi tiriyātu
Malivum pulavi-y-u m-ūṭal-u m-uṇarvum
Pirivoṭu puṇarntatu kaṟp-eṉa-p paṭumē.

Kaḷavu becoming known to all, winning the lady's hand through her relatives, enjoying according to human nature, pleasure, conjugal union, love-quarrel, and its end and separation fall under *kaṟpu*.

491. மெய்பெறு மவையே கைகோள் வகையே.
Mey-peṟu m-avai-y-ē kaikōḷ vakai-y-ē.

Those two—*kaḷavu* and *kaṟpu* form *kaikōḷ*.

492. பார்ப்பான் பாங்கன் றோழி செவிலி
சீர்த்தகு சிறப்பிற் கிழவன் கிழத்தியொடு
அளவியன் மரபி னறுவகை யோரும்
களவிற் கிளவிக் குரிய ரென்ப.
Pārppāṉ pāṅkaṉ ṟōḻi cevili
Cīr-t-taku ciṟappiṟ kiḻavaṉ kiḻattiyoṭu
Aḷaviyaṉ marapi ṉ-aṟu-vakai yōr-um
Kaḷaviṟ kiḷavik k-uriya r-eṉpa.

They say that traditionally the following six are qualified to speak during *kaḷavu*:—Brahman, lover's friend, lady's friend, foster mother, the lover and the lady-love, of whom the last two are evidently very prominent.

493. பாணன் கூத்தன் விறலி பரத்தை
ஆணஞ் சான்ற வறிவர் கண்டோர்
பேணுதகு சிறப்பிற் பார்ப்பான் முதலா
முன்னுறக் கிளந்த வறுவரொடு தொகைஇத்
தொன்னெறி மரபிற் கற்பிற் குரியர்.

Pāṇaṉ kūttaṉ viṟali parattai
Āṇañ cāṉṟa v-aṟivar kaṇṭōr
Pēṇu-taku ciṟappiṟ pārppāṉ mutal-ā
Muṉ-ṉ-uṟa-k kiḷanta v-aṟuvaroṭu tokaii-t
Toṉṉeṟi marapiṟ kaṟpiṟ k-uriyar.

The following six along with the six mentioned above beginning with Brahman worthy of company, form, from tradition, the speakers in *kaṟpu*:—*pāṇaṉ, kūttaṉ, viṟali,* courtezan, learned men and passers-by attached to the lover and the lady.

Note. The third line in this *sūtra* is not absolutely necessary. It, perhaps, explains why *pārppāṉ* heads the list in the previous *sūtra*.

494. ஊரு மயலுஞ் சேரி யோரும்
நோய்மருங் கறிநருந் தந்தையுந் தன்னையும்
கொண்டெடுத்து மொழியப் படுத லல்லது
கூற்றவ ணின்மை யாப்புறத் தோன்றும்.

Ūr-u m-ayal-uñ cēri yōr-um
Nōy-maruṅ k-aṟinar-un tantai-y-un taṉṉai-y-um
Koṇṭ-eṭuttu moḻiya-p paṭuta l-allatu
Kūṟṟava ṇ-iṉmai yāppuṟa-t tōṉṟum.

The villagers, neighbours, the residents of the street, those who are in the know of the different stages of love-sickness and the father and the elder brother of the lady do not have their say directly in literature and it is reported by one other than they.

495. கிழவன் றன்னொடுங் கிழத்தி தன்னொடும்
நற்றாய் கூறன் முற்றத் தோன்றாது.

Kiḻavaṉ ṟaṉṉoṭuṅ kiḻatti taṉṉoṭum
Naṟṟāy kūṟaṉ muṟṟa-t tōṉṟātu.

The mother of the lady-love never has her say either with the lover or the lady.

496. ஒண்டொடி மாதர்க் கிழவன் கிழத்தியொடு
கண்டோர் மொழிதல் கண்ட தென்ப.

Oṇṭoṭi mātar-k kiḻavaṉ kiḻattiyoṭu
Kaṇṭōr moḻital kaṇṭa t-eṉpa.

They say that passers-by have their say with women furnished with fine ornaments, the lover and the lady-love.

Note 1. *Oṇṭoṭi-mātar* refers to the lady's mother, foster mother and friend.

Note 2. *Pērāśiriyar* seems to take *oṇṭoṭi-mātar* as an adjunct to *kaṇṭōr* and tells us that they have their say only when they meet the lover and the lady-love together.

497. இடைச்சுர மருங்கிற் கிழவன் கிழத்தியொடு
வழக்கிய லாணையிற் கிளத்தற்கு முரியன்.

Iṭai-c-cura maruṅkiṟ kiḻavaṉ kiḻattiyoṭu
Vaḻakkiya l-āṇaiyiṟ kiḷattaṟku m-uriyaṉ.

The lover may, according to tradition, have his say towards the lady-love in the middle of the desert.

498. ஒழிந்தோர் கிளவி கிழவன் கிழத்தியொடு
மொழிந்தாங் குரியர் முன்னத்தி னெடுத்தே.

Oḻintōr kiḷavi kiḻavaṉ kiḻattiyoṭu
Moḻintāṅ k-uriyar muṉṉatti ṉ-eṭutt-ē.

All other than the lover and the lady-love have their say towards the lover or the lady-love or both according to the etiquette suited to the time and place.

Note: *Pērāśiriyar* takes this *sūtra* to refer to *kaṇṭōr.*

499. மனையோள் கிளவியுங் கிழவன் கிளவியும்
நினையுங் காலைக் கேட்குந ரவரே.

Maṉaiyōḷ kiḷavi-y-uṅ kiḻavaṉ kiḷavi-y-um
Niṉaiyuṅ kālai-k kēṭkuna r-avar-ē.

The sayings of the lady and the lover are addressed to them i.e., the ten mentioned above.

500. பார்ப்பா ரறிவ ரென்றிவர் கிளவி
யார்க்கும் வரையார் யாப்பொடு புணர்த்தே.[1]

Pārppā r-aṟiva r-eṉṟivar kiḷavi
Yārkkum varaiyār yāppoṭu puṇartt-ē.

They do not prohibit the saying of brahmāns and scholars in the form of verse addressed to anybody.

501. பரத்தை வாயி லெனவிரு வீற்றும்
கிழத்தியைச் சுட்டாக் கிளப்புப் பயனிலவே.

Parattai vāyi l-eṉa-v-iru vīṟṟum
Kiḻattiyai-c cuṭṭā-k kiḷappu-p payaṉ-ila-v-ē.

---

1. புணர்த்தே (இளம்.); புணர்ந்தே (பேரா.).

The sayings of the courtezan and the interceders are of no use, if they are made to be heard by the lady love.

Note: *Pērāśiriyar* reads the *sūtra 'oru-neṟi'* before this *sūtra*. *Iḷampūraṇar* reads it after the *adhikāra* of *kēṭpōr* ends.

502. வாயி லுசாவே தம்மு ளுரிய.

Vāyi l-ucā-v-ē tam-mu ḷ-uriya.

The deliberation of interceders may be among themselves.

503. ஞாயிறு திங்க ளறிவே நாணே
கடலே கானல் விலங்கே மரனே
புலம்புறு பொழுதே புள்ளே நெஞ்சே
அவையல பிறவு நுதலிய[1] நெறியான்
சொல்லுந போலவுங் கேட்குந போலவும்
சொல்லியாங் கமையு மென்மனார் புலவர்.

Ñāyiṟu tiṅka ḷ-aṟiv-ē nāṇ-ē
Kaṭal-ē kāṉal vilaṅk-ē maraṉ-ē
Pulamp-uṟu poḻut-ē puḷ-ḷ-ē neñcē
Avai-y-ala piṟa-v-u nutaliya neṟiyāṉ
Colluna pōla-v-uṅ kēṭkuna pōla-v-um
Colliyāṅ k-amaiyu m-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that the following are found in literature as if they express their ideas and listen to the speech of others:—sun, moon, intelligence, shyness, sea, mirage, beast, tree, time of soliloquy, bird, mind etc.

504. ஒருநெறிப் பட்டாங் கோரியன் முடியும்
கரும நிகழ்ச்சி யிடமென மொழிப.

Oru-neṟi-p paṭṭāṅ k-ōr-iyaṉ muṭiyum
Karuma nikaḻcci y-iṭam-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that *iṭam* is that wherein an incident pertaining to minor topic within a major topic takes place.

Note: The word *iṭam* here and the word *kaḷaṉ* in sūtra, are synonymous.

505. இறப்பே நிகழ்வே யெதிர தென்னும்
திறத்தியன் மருங்கிற் றெரிந்தன ருணரப்[2]
பொருணிகழ் வுரைப்பது கால மாகும்.

Iṟapp-ē nikaḻv-ē y-etira t-eṉṉum
Tiṟattiyaṉ maruṅkiṟ ṟerintaṉa r-uṇara-p
Poruṇikaḻ v-uraippatu kāla m-ākum.

---

1. நுதலிய (இளம்.); நுவலிய (பேரா.).
2. உணர (இளம்.); உள்ள (பேரா.).

Time is that when one is said to happen with reference to the past, the present and the future.

Note: The *sūtra* "*Kālan tānē mūnrena molipa*" and the following *sūtra* in the *Vinaiyiyal* of *Collatikāram* deal with the *classification* of time and the above *sūtra* here deals with its *definition*.

506. இதநனி பயக்கு[1]மிதன்மா றென்னும்
தொகுநிலைக் கிளவி பயனெனப் படுமே.

Itu-nani payakku mitanmā r-ennum
Toku-nilaik kilavi payan-enap paṭum-ē.

If the fact that this will surely result from this, is not expressed in words, it is called *payan*.

507. உய்த்துணர் வின்றித் தலைவரு பொருண்மையின்[2]
மெய்ப்பட முடிப்பது மெய்ப்பா டாகும்.

Uyttuṇar v-inri-t talai-varu poruṇmayin
Meyppaṭa muṭippatu meyppā ṭākum.

If the description of an object is so vivid that one can enjoy it with hair bristling, eyes shedding tears etc. it is called *meyppāṭu*.

508. எண்வகை யியனெறி பிழையா தாகி
முன்னுறக் கிளந்த முடிவின ததுவே.

Eṇ-vakai y-iyaneri pilaiyā t-āki
Munnura-k kilanta muṭivina t-atu-v-ē.

It is, unfailingly, of eight kinds and is of the nature mentioned above

509. சொல்லொடுங் குறிப்பொடு முடிவுகொ ளியற்கை
புல்லிய கிளவி யெச்ச மாகும்.

Colloṭuṅ kurippoṭu muṭivu-koḷiyarkai
Pulliya kilavi y-ecca m-ā-kum.

Eccam is a stanza whose meaning is completed through some word or suggestion.

510. இவ்விடத் திம்மொழி யிவரிவர்க் குரியவென்று
அவ்விடத் தவரவர்க் குரைப்பது[3] முன்னம்.

I-v-v-iṭat t-i-m-moli y-ivar-ivark k-uriya-v-enru
A-v-v-iṭat t-avar-avark k-uraippatu munnam.

---

1. இதன்மாறு (இளம்.); இதனென் (பேரா.).
2. பொருண்மையின் (இளம்.); பொருளான் (பேரா.).
3. உரைப்பது (இளம்.); உரைப்பதை (பேரா.).

Munnam is that which indicates the qualified speaker and the qualified person to be spoken to.

Note: *Iṭam* in this *sūtra* is an *upalakṣaṇa* to *kālam.*

511. இன்பமு மிடும்பையும் புணர்வும் பிரிவும்
ஒழுக்கமு மென்றிவை யிழுக்குநெறி யின்றி
இதுவா கித்திணைக் குரிப்பொரு ளென்னாது[1]
பொதுவாய் நிற்றல் பொருள்வகை யென்ப.

Inpam-u m-iṭumpai-y-um puṇarv-um piriv-um
Oḻukkam-u m-eṉṟivai y-iḻukku-neṟi y-iṉṟi
Itu-v-ā k-i-t-tiṇaik k-urripporu ḷ-eṉṉātu
Potu-v-āy niṟṟal poruḷ-vakai y-eṉpa.

They say that *poruḷ* is that which is common to all *tiṇais* other than those which are peculiar to particular *tiṇai* and do not trespass the limits which are the source of pleasure and pain, union and separation and right conduct.

512. அவ்வவ மாக்களும் விலங்கு மன்றிப்
பிறவவண் வரினுந் திறவதி னாடித்
தத்த மியலான் மரபொடு முடியின்
அத்திறந் தானே துறையெனப் படுமே.

A-v-v-ava mākkaḷ-um vilaṅku m-aṉṟi-p
Piṟa-v-avaṇ variṉun tiṟavati nāṭi-t
Tatta m-iyalāṉ marapoṭu muṭiyiṉ
A-t-tiṟan tāṉ-ē tuṟai-y-eṉa-p paṭum-ē

If human beings, beasts etc. peculiar to particular tracts are described in conformity with usage, it is called *tuṟai.*

513. அகன்றுபொருள் கிடப்பினு மணுகிய நிலையினும்
இயன்றுபொருள் முடியத் தந்தன ருணர்த்தல்
மாட்டென மொழிப பாட்டியல் வழக்கின்.

Akaṉṟu-poruḷ kiṭappiṉ-u m-aṇukiya nilaiyiṉ-um
Iyaṉṟu-poruḷ muṭiya-t tan-taṉ-a r-uṇar-ttal
Māṭṭ-eṉ a moḻipa pāṭṭiyal vaḻakkiṉ.

They say that the mode of construction in verse where words are brought together to suit the meaning whether they are removed from one another or are close to one another.

514. மாட்டு மெச்சமு நாட்ட லின்றி
உடனிலை மொழியினுந் தொடைநிலை பெறுமே.

Māṭṭu m-eccam-u nāṭṭa l-iṉṟi
Uṭanilai moḻiyuṉun toṭai-nilai peṟum-ē.

Verse may be composed in such a way as does not need *māṭṭu* and *eccam.*

515. வண்ணந் தாமே நாலைந் தென்ப.

Vaṇṇan tām-ē nāl-ain t-eṉpa.

Rhythm, they say, is of twenty kinds.

516. அவைதாம்
பாஅ வண்ணந் தாஅ வண்ணம்
வல்லிசை வண்ண மெல்லிசை வண்ணம்
இயைபு வண்ண மளபெடை வண்ணம்
நெடுஞ்சீர் வண்ணங் குறுஞ்சீர் வண்ணம்
சித்திர வண்ண நலிபு வண்ணம்
அகப்பாட்டு வண்ணம் புறப்பாட்டு வண்ணம
ஒழுகு வண்ண மொரூஉ வண்ணம்
எண்ணு வண்ண மகைப்பு வண்ணம்
தூங்கல் வண்ண மேந்தல் வண்ணம்
உருட்டு வண்ண முடுகு வண்ணமென்று
[1]ஆங்கென மொழிப வறிந்திசி னோரே.

Avai-tām
Pāa vaṇṇan tāa vaṇṇam
Vallicai vaṇṇa mellicai vaṇṇam
Iyaipu vaṇṇa m-aḷapeṭai vaṇṇam
Neṭuñ-cīr vaṇṇaṅ kuṟuñcīr vaṇṇam
Cittira vaṇṇa nalipu vaṇṇam
Akappāṭṭu vaṇṇam puṟappāṭṭu vaṇṇam
Oḻuku vaṇṇa m-orūu vaṇṇam
Eṇṇu vaṇṇa m-akaippu vaṇṇam
Tūṅkal vaṇṇa m-ēntal vaṇṇam
Uruṭṭu vaṇṇa muṭuku vaṇṇam-eṉṟu
Āṅk-eṉa moḻipa v-aṟintici ṉōr-ē-

Learned men say that they are *pāa-vaṇṇam, tāa-vaṇṇam, vallicai-vaṇṇam, mellicai-vaṇṇam, iyaipu-vaṇṇam, aḷapeṭai-vaṇṇam, neṭuñ-cīr-vaṇṇam, kuṟuñ-cīr-vaṇṇam, cittira-vaṇṇam, nalipu-vaṇṇam, akappāṭṭu-vaṇṇam, puṟappāṭṭu-vaṇṇam, oḻuku-vaṇṇam, orūu-vaṇṇam, eṇṇu-vaṇṇam, akaippu-vaṇṇam, tūṅkal-vaṇṇam, ēntal-vaṇṇam, uruṭṭu-vaṇṇam* and *muṭuku-vaṇṇam.*

517. அவற்றுள்
பாஅ வண்ணம்
சொற்சீர்த் தாகி நூற்பாற் பயிலும்.

---

1. ஆங்கென மொழிப (இளம்.); அங்கனமறிப (பேரா.).

Avarrul
Pāa vannam
Cor-cīrt t-āki nūrpār payilum.

Of them, *pāa-vannam* is that where word stands as *cīr*.

518. தாஅ வண்ணம்
இடையிட்டு வந்த வெதுகைத் தாகும்.
Tāa vannam
Itai-y-ittu vanta v-etukait t-ākum.

(Of them), *tāa vannam* is that where *etukai* is found in alternate feet.

Note: *Avarrul* is taken here from the previous *sūtra*. Similarly it should be taken in the following *sūtras*.

519. வல்லிசை வண்ணம் வல்லெழுத்து மிகுமே.
Val-l-i cai vannam valleluttu miku-m-ē.

(Of them), *vallicai-vannam* is that where voiceless consonants are found in large numbers.

520. மெல்லிசை வண்ணம் மெல்லெழுத்து மிகுமே.
Mell-icai vannam melleluttu mikum-ē.

(Of them), *mellicai-vannam* is that where nasal consonants preponderate.

521. இயைபு வண்ண மிடையெழுத்து மிகுமே.
Iyaipu vanna m-itai-y-eluttu-mikum-ē.

(Of them), *iyaipu-vannam* is that where semi-vowels preponderate.

522. அளபெடை வண்ண மளபெடை பயிலும்.
Alapetai vanna m-alapetai payilum.

(Of them), *alapetai-vannam* is that where *alapetas* (both vocalic and consonantal) are close together.

523. நெடுஞ்சீர் வண்ண நெட்டெழுத்துப் பயிலும்.
Netuñ-cīr vanna netteluttu-p payilum.

(Of them), *netuñcīr-vannam* is that where long vowels are close together.

524. குறுஞ்சீர் வண்ணங் குற்றெழுத்துப் பயிலும்.
Kuruñcīr vannan kurreluttu-p payilum.

(Of them), *kuruñcīr-vannam* is that where short vowels are close together.

525. சித்திர வண்ணம்
நெடியவுங் குறியவு நேர்ந்துடன் வருமே.

Cittira vaṇṇam
Neṭiyavuṅ kuṟiyavu nērntuṭaṉ varum-ē.

(Of them), *cittira-vaṇṇam* is that where short and long vowels are so used as to produce harmony.

526. நலிபு வண்ண மாய்தம் பயிலும்.
Nalipu vaṇṇa m-āytam payilum.

(Of them), *nalipu-vaṇṇam* is that where *āytam* is used.

527. அகப்பாட்டு வண்ணம்
முடியாத் தன்மையின் முடிந்ததன் மேற்றே.
Akappāṭṭu vaṇṇam
Muṭiyā-t taṉmaiyiṉ muṭintataṉ mēṟṟē.

(Of them), *akappāṭṭu-vaṇṇam* is that in w..ch the final *acai* is different from that which is genera.. used when the sense is completed.

Note: *Ē* is generally used when th.. sense completes.

528. புறப்பாட்டு வண்ணம்
முடிந்தது போன்று முடியா ..ாகும்.
Puṟappāṭṭu vaṇṇam
Muṭintatu pōṉṟu m..iyā t-ākum.

(Of them), *puṟappā..u-vaṇṇam* is that wherein the *acai* which is generally use.. when the sense is completed is found even when the sense ..s not complete.

529. ஒழுகு வண்ண மோசையி னொழுகும்.
Oḻuk.. vaṇṇa m-ōcaiyi ṉ-oḻukum.

(Of th..m), *oḻuku-vaṇṇam* is the rhythm which flows evenly i.. a pleasing manner.

5..0. ஒரூஉ வண்ண மொரூஉத்தொடை தொடுக்கும்.
Orūu vaṇṇa m-orūuttoṭai toṭukkum.

(Of them), *orūu-vaṇṇam* is that where words flow like the flow of a river.

Note: *Iḷampūraṇar's* interpretation is this:—*orūu-vaṇṇam* is that which is free from *toṭai* like *mōṉai* etc.

531. எண்ணு வண்ண மெண்ணுப் பயிலும்.
Eṇṇu vaṇṇa m-eṇṇu-p payilum.

(Of them), *eṇṇu-vaṇṇam* is that where words and particles denoting number are used.

532. அகைப்பு வண்ண மறுத்தறுத் தொழுகும்.

Akaippu vaṇṇa m-aṟuttaṟut t-oḻukum.

(Of them), *akaippu-vaṇṇam* is that wherein different kinds of rhythm follow each other.

533. தூங்கல் வண்ணம் வஞ்சி பயிலும்.

Tūṅkal vaṇṇam vañci payilum.

(Of them), *tūṅkal-vaṇṇam* is that which is found in *vañci* verse.

534. ஏந்தல் வண்ணம்
சொல்லிய சொல்லிற் சொல்லியது சிறக்கும்.

Ēntal vaṇṇam
Colliya colliṟ colliyatu ciṟakkum.

(Of them), *ēntal-vaṇṇam* is that where the same word is repeated for emphasis, clearness etc.

535. உருட்டு வண்ண மராகந் தொடுக்கும்.

Uruṭṭu vaṇṇa m-arākan toṭukkum.

(Of them), *uruṭṭu-vaṇṇam* is that wherein *arākam* or lines characterised by rapid movement follow each other.

536. முடுகு வண்ண முடிவறி யாமல்
அடியிறந் தொழுகி யதனோ றற்றே.

Muṭuku vaṇṇa muṭivaṟi yāmal
Aṭi-y-iṟan toḻuki y-ataṉ-ō ṟ-aṟṟ-ē.

(Of them), *muṭuku-vaṇṇam* is the rhythm which is effected by mixing lines of short syllables in rapid succession with those of a different type.

537. வண்ணந் தாமே யிவையென மொழிப.

They say that *vaṇṇams* are of the kinds mentioned above. Then the author begins to define the eight commencing with *ammai* and ending with *iḻaipu* mentioned at the end of the first *sūtra* of this chapter.

538. சின்மென் மொழியாற் சீர்புனைந் தியாப்பின்[1]
அம்மை தானே யடிநிமிர் வின்றே.[2]

---

1. சீர்புனைந் தியாப்பின் (பேரா.); தாய பனுவலொடு (நச்.),

2. Another reading has the first line

வனப்பிய லுனே வகுக்குங் காலை

and it is followed by the above two lines. 'Since the expression *vaṉappu* is not found in the first *sūtra*, this line may be an interpolation.

अथ अष्टादशोऽध्यायः

T. 90. एवमन्यायवृत्तेभ्यः पुत्रेभ्यः पृथिवीविजिगीषो रक्षणमुक्तम्। राजपुत्रावस्थायामन्यायवृत्तिना पित्रा अवरुद्धो निराकृतः। अवपूर्वो रुधिर्निराकरणे वर्तते। निराचिकीर्षितो वा। सोऽप्यर्थादवरुद्ध इति। तस्य राज्यप्राप्तये चरितमवरुद्धवृत्तमुच्यते। तेन राजवृत्त्यधिकारेऽपि राज्ञोऽवस्थाभेदाद् भेद इत्येवमुच्यते। यथा—

"पार्ष्णिग्राहोऽभियोक्ता वा यातव्यो वा यदा भवेत्।
विजिगीषुस्तदा तत्र नैत्रमेतत् समाचरेत्॥" (अग्नि. ७. अध्या. १३)।

तथा—

राजा वा राजपुत्रो वा विजिगीषुर्यदा भवेत्।
पुत्रे पितरि वा दुष्टे स तदेवं समाचरेत्॥

इत्यर्थापन्नम्। तत्र निराचिकीर्षितमधिकृत्याह—राजपुत्र इत्यादि। कृच्छ्रवृत्तिः कथं नाम दूरमपयास्यतीति पित्रा कल्पितवृत्तित्वाद् दूरस्थः। अवश्यश्चेदं कर्तुमिच्छतीति असदृशेऽननुरूपे कर्मणि नियुक्तः पितरमनुवर्तेत। आनुकूल्येनाराधयितुं तत्कर्म कुर्यादित्यर्थः। अन्यत्रेति प्राणाबाधकादिनियोगादन्यत्र। प्राणाबाधकादीनि तु न कुर्यात्। प्राणाबाधकं कर्म यदसाध्ये दण्डचारित्वादि। तत्रैकान्तिको विनाशः। प्रकृतिप्रकोपनं विरागजनकदण्डकरसाधनादि। पातकं धर्मलोकव्यवहारविरोधि। पुण्ये धर्माविरुद्धे समाहर्त्रादिकर्मणि परीक्षार्थं फलोत्पादनार्थं वा नियुक्तः। पुरुषं पुरुषगुणोपेतम् अधिष्ठातारं कर्मसाक्षिणं दोषपरिहारार्थं याचेत मार्गेत पितरमित्यर्थात्। तेनाधिष्ठितश्च परिज्ञातपूर्वाधिष्ठितः सविशेषं विकल्पोत्थापनैः प्राचुर्येण शीघ्रतया वा। आदेशम् आदिश्यत इत्यादेशमनुतिष्ठेत्। अभिरूपं चेति अभिरूपं समर्थं कर्मफलम्। औपायनिकश्च लाभं जनपदेन दिदृक्षुणा उपायनार्थमाहृतं शौचख्यापनार्थम् उपनाययेत्, न तु स्वयमुपनयेत् परोक्षं तुष्टातुष्टत्वं प्रकाशयिष्यतीति। तत्र प्रमाणैस्तुष्टमुपलभ्य सविशेषमनुवर्तेतेति सामर्थ्यलब्धम्॥

तथापि व्यावृत्तौ स्वभावतो दोषादेव वा अतुष्यन्तम्। अन्यस्मिन् पुत्रे दारेषु वेति। अन्यस्मिन्ननुवर्तमानेषु पुत्रदारेषु वान्येषु तन्मातृसपत्न्यां प्रतिपक्षभूतायां स्वभावादेव स्निह्यमानम्। ताच्छील्ये (चानश्)। प्रव्रज्यानिमित्तं

वैराग्यं ख्यापयन् अरण्यायापृच्छेत । तपोवनं गन्तुमापृच्छेत । "क्रियार्थोपपदस्य" (१-३-१८) इत्यादिना चतुर्थी । अथैवमपि नानुकम्पेत, किन्तु तदपेक्षामाहन्याद् बध्नीयाद् वेति मन्येत, तदा वधबन्धभयाद्वा सामन्तमाश्रयेत इति निराकृतस्य वृत्तमाह । कीदृशमित्याह—यः सामन्त इति । न्यायवृत्तिः स्वल्पेनापि यत्नेन तन्त्रसाधनसमर्थः । धार्मिकः न चैनं पण्यं करोति । M. 36. सत्यवाग् यथावृत्तिज्ञानकारी । अविसंवादकः न वाक्छलेनातिसन्धत्ते । अभिपन्नानां शरणागतानां प्रतिग्रहीता संग्रहीता मानयिता पूजयिता तमाश्रयेत । T. 91. तत्रस्थ इति तमाश्रितः । कोशदण्डसंपन्नः सन् । तेन बीजभूतेन प्रवीरपुरुषाणां पित्र्याणामन्येषां वा याः कन्याः ताभिर्वरणेन सम्बन्धं शक्तिपूरणार्थम् । अटवीसंबन्धम् आटविकैः सह संबन्धमनेकप्रकारम् । पितुर्यः कृत्यपक्षः तस्य उपग्रहं यथोक्तं कुर्यात् ।

यस्तु कोशदण्डरहितत्वाद् एक एव चरति विजिगीषायां स एकचरः । तदाश्रय एव कोशार्थं सुवर्णपाकादीन् कुर्यात् ....(आ)जीवेदनुतिष्ठेत् । तत्र सुवर्णस्य वर्णोत्कर्षार्थं पाकः सुवर्णपाकः । स्फटिकस्य जात्यन्तरगुणाधानार्थं रञ्जनं मणिरागः । सरःपारा (?) संस्कृतः हेमादिकृत् । रूप्यमाहत-कर्मनिष्पाद्यम् । पण्यं पणितव्यं वणिक्कर्मणा । आकरकर्मान्तो धातुवाद-विधिरिति । पश्चाद्धर्ममाचरिष्यामीति आपत्कल्पमाह पाषण्डेति । पाषण्डानां शूद्रप्रव्रजितानां प्रत्येकं यद् द्रव्यं वर्णधर्मानुपयोगित्वात्....धानां पाषण्डानामन्येषां वा यत्साधारणत्वादपीडाकरम् । देवद्रव्यम् अश्रोत्रियैर्वृषलपरिव्राजकैर्यद् भुज्यते तदल्पदोषत्वादपहरेत् । आढ्या या विधवा तां वा गूढं प्रच्छन्नम् अनुप्रविश्य कामित्वेन द्रव्यमपहरेदिति संबन्धः । पूर्वत्र शिष्यादिभावेन गूढानुप्रवेशो ज्ञेयः । सार्थानां यानं नौशकटबलीवर्दादि द्रव्यम् । प्रभूतानि पात्राण्यश्वाश्वतरहस्त्यादीन्यपहरेत् । मदनरसयोगेन सार्थपतीननुप्रविश्य । पारग्रामिकश्चेति परदुर्गग्रहणाय यो योगः प्रभवति दुर्गलाभोपायविहितः तमुपजापादिकमातिष्ठेत् स्वराज्यप्राप्त्यर्थम् । मातुः संबन्धी यः परिजनस्त-स्यासाधारणत्वाद्दानमानाभ्यामुपग्रहः स्वीकरणं तेनोपायभूतेन चेष्टेत यथास्य यौवराज्यमुपतप्तो दद्यात् । T. 92. कार्वादिच्छद्मभिर्वेति । कारुर्वर्धक्यादि । शिल्पी आलेख्यलेख्यादिकुशलः । कुशीलवो नृत्तगीतादिजीवनः । चिकित्सको वैद्यः । वाग्जीवनः कथकवाचकादिः । पाषण्डः पाशुपतादिः, तच्छद्मभिस्तद्व्यञ्जनैः सह । तद्व्यञ्जनसखः कार्वादिव्यञ्जनानां सखा

भूत्वा। तत्रापि **नष्टरूपः** प्रच्छादितपूर्वरूपः "वरकषायस्नातः सहचरकल्कदिग्धः कृष्णो भवति" (अधि. १४. अध्या. २) इत्येवंप्रकारैर्योगैः **राज्ञः छिद्रेषु** रक्षाशैथिल्येषु प्रेक्षादिषु **अनुप्रविश्य शस्त्ररसाभ्यां प्रहृत्य,** कानित्यर्थात् पितृपक्षीयान् पितुः पक्षच्छेदं कृत्वा न तु पितरं लोकधर्मविरोधात् पितृघातकोऽयमिति। मध्यस्थेषु **ब्रूयात् अहमसौ कुमारो** यो निराकृतः। पौरामित्रशङ्कानिवृत्त्यर्थम्। **सहभोग्यमिदं राज्यं** पितुः पुत्राणाञ्च। **एको** रागद्वेषाभ्यां **नार्हति भोक्तुम्।** अतो मयैवं कृतमिति। इदञ्च ब्रूयात्—**ये** युष्माकं मध्ये **कामयन्ते** इच्छन्ति मां स्वामिनमिति, अर्थादहं **भोक्तुं** पोषयितुम्। **द्विगुणेन भक्तवेतनेनोपस्थास्य इति** सेविष्ये। इति एवंप्रकारम् **अवरुद्धवृत्तम्॥**

चतुर्दशं प्रकरणम्॥

अथ पञ्चदशं प्रकरणम्

यदि न्यायवृत्तिर्विपरीतो वावरुद्धोऽपाकुर्यात् तदा तस्मिन् राज्ञः का वृ(त्तिर्भव)तीत्यवरुद्धे वृत्तिरुच्यते। यदाह—**अवरुद्धमिति।** प्रत्यन्तमन्यविषयं वोपद्रवपरिहारार्थं प्रेषितं वधबन्धभयाद्वापक्रान्तं पितुरनुतापे वा सति। **मुख्यपुत्रापसर्पा इति।** मुख्यानां मन्त्र्यादीनां पुत्रा अपसर्पत्वेन नियुक्ताः सहक्रीडितत्वादिभिर्विश्वास्याः। **प्रतिपाद्य** प्रत्याय्य सत्यशपथादिभिस्तेषां पितॄणां प्रातिभाव्येन (अचलन? लग्नक) त्वेनानयेयुः। **माता वा कुमारस्य प्रतिगृहीता** ....त्रा प्रतिपाद्यानये(युः? त्)। दुर्वृत्तत्वात् त्यक्तमसन्धेयं **गूढपुरुषाः** आत्मनः प्रजानां च क्षेमार्थं राज्ञा प्रयुक्ताः **शस्त्ररसाभ्यां हन्युः,** विकलीकुर्युः। **अत्यक्तं** शङ्कयापक्रमम्। **तुल्यशीलाभिः** एकशीलाभिः अभेदार्थम्। **स्त्रीभिः** सार्धं **पानेन प्रसज्य** संयोज्य। उद्यानादिषु विहरन्तः। **मृगयया वा** प्रसज्य तुल्यशीलैः राजपुत्रैरित्यर्थोक्तम्। **रात्रावदृष्टदिग्भागम् उपगृह्य** प्रलोभ्य आनयेयुः, गूढपुरुषा एव। T. 93. M. 37.

उपस्थितमित्यादिः श्लोकः। **उपस्थितं** स्वयमागतं वा कल्याणबुद्धिम्। **राज्येन सान्त्वयेत्** मदूर्ध्वं तवेदं राज्यमिति। मध्यबुद्धि**मेकस्थ**.........धं कुर्यात्, यथा न विक्रमेत, अपायनित्यं तु पुरक्रीडाम्(?)* ॥

(**इत्यवरुद्धवृत्तम् अवरुद्धे च वृत्तिः, चतुर्दशं पञ्चदशञ्च प्रकरणे।**
अष्टादशश्चाध्यायः॥)

---

* इतः परमनन्तराध्यायोपक्रमावधिर्ग्रन्थभागो मातृकायां लुप्तः।

अथैकोनविंशोऽध्यायः

T. 95. M. 38....(षष्ठे स्वैरविहारं) मन्त्रं वा सेवेत । स्वैरविहारमित्युक्त्या उदाहरणत्वात् कार्यान्तरवेलायामपि प्रत्युत्पन्नं मन्त्रं गौरवान्नातिपातयेदिति द्रष्टव्यम् । वाशब्दो विकल्पार्थः, सप्तमेऽपि रात्रिभागेऽस्य सावकाशत्वात् । सप्तमे हस्त्यश्वरथायुधीयान् स्नातपीतभुक्तत्वात् सुमनसः पश्येत् । तज्जीविनाञ्च यथास्वं विद्याविनयं चेत्यर्थोक्तम् । दृष्टसेनाङ्गश्च अष्टमे सेनापतिसखः । तदायत्तत्वाद् विक्रमस्य, विक्रमं सैन्यमूलं शक्यमशक्यं वा चिन्तयेत् । प्रतिष्ठितेऽहनि परिसमाप्ते सन्ध्यामुपासीत वन्देत । तस्मात्...र्ताचारत्वात् । अयञ्च कालः अहोरात्रान्तर्भूतो द्रष्टव्यः ॥

प्रथमे रात्रिभागे अप्रकाशरूपत्वात् पञ्चमाहर्भागदृष्टशेषान् गूढपुरुषान् कापटिकादीन् पश्येत् । द्वितीये स्नानम् अङ्गप्रक्षालनं सति घर्मादौ तदपनोदनार्थं सुखशय्यार्थं च । भोजनं च सत्यां बुभुक्षायां बलाधानार्थं च सेवेत । यदाहुः —

"अजीर्णे भुज्यते यच्च यच्च जीर्णे न भुज्यते ।
रात्रौ न जीर्यते यच्च तेन जी(व? र्य)न्ति मानवाः ॥"

इति । अत्र च सायं प्रातर्भोजन इति श्रुतावपि सत्यामयं कालविशेषनियमः । स्वाध्यायं च परलोकाङ्गसिद्धान्तानुस्मरणं कुर्वीत । तृतीये तूर्यघोषेण शयनस्थितिसूचकेन तत्सुखमासेवमानः । संविष्टः शयनमधिरूढः । तच्छेषेण सह चतुर्थपञ्चमौ भागौ शयीत धातुसाम्यार्थम् । तत्रापि कार्यवशादतिप्रसज्यमानः । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । षष्ठे तूर्यघोषेण प्रातिबोधिकेन प्रतिबुद्धः, तदानीं प्रसन्नचित्तः शास्त्रं यदभ्यस्तमनभ्यस्तं वा, इतिकर्तव्यतां चेति एवं करणीयमिति । शास्त्रबाह्यमिति सहाध्यायिभयादन्यथाविकल्पयन्.... चिन्तयेत् । सप्तमे मन्त्रमध्यासीतेति । षष्ठेऽहर्भागे स्वैरविहारेण विकल्पितमपूर्वं नवं वा मन्त्रं सेवेत । एक एव, न मन्त्रिभिः सार्धम्, तदानीं स्मृतिसंभवात् । मन्त्रनिश्चयानन्तरं च गूढपुरुषान् प्रेषयेत् । उक्तं च "उद्धृतमन्त्रो गूढ? दूत)प्रणिधिः" इति । अष्टमे सङ्कीर्णव्यवहारिसमाहर्तृनागरिकादिदर्शनात् प्राग् असङ्कीर्णाचारेभ्यः ऋत्विगाचार्यपुरोहितेभ्यः

स्वस्त्ययनमाशीर्वादं वैदिकं लौकिकं च प्रतिगृह्णीयात् । दुःस्वप्नाद्यपनोदनार्थं मङ्गलार्थं च । तदानीम् ऋत्विजोऽग्निहवनार्थं विशन्ति, आचार्याः शास्त्रार्थसन्देहापनोदनार्थम्, पुरोहितश्च मन्त्राभिमन्त्रणाज्य(क ? द)र्शनकपिलादानार्थं प्रविशति । अन्ये ऋत्विगाचार्यपुरोहितस्वस्त्ययनादीनीति समस्य पठन्ति । चिकित्सकादीन् प्रविष्टांश्च पश्येत् । तत्र चिकित्सकं स्वस्थास्वस्थभेषजार्थम् । ऋत्विगनुकूलभोजनकल्पनार्थं च माहानसिकान् महानसनियुक्तान् सूदतदध्यक्षान् वैद्योपदिष्टसंपादनार्थम् । मौहूर्तिकान् शान्त्यादिकर्मादि... दिवसचारनक्षत्रज्ञानार्थम् । मुखप्रक्षालनानन्तरं चेदमिति सार्वलौकिकम् । अवसितायां रात्रौ सन्ध्यामुपासीतेति पूर्वोक्ता....हि । अन्ततो धेनुं पृथिवीकल्पां सवत्सां प्रस्नुतां वृषभं च धर्मस्थानीयमुभयं च मङ्गल्यतमम् ।

सर्वं कार्यं तदा स्वशक्त्यनुरोधेन निशाहर्भागान् विभज्य सर्वाणि कार्याणि सेवेतेति ॥

T. 96. एवमहोरात्रप्रणिहितः उपस्थानगतः कार्यार्थिनामर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनां द्वारमसङ्गमप्रावृतं कारयेत् । यस्माद् दुर्दर्शो राजा कार्यार्थिभिः दुःखेन दृश्यते । ततश्च कार्यविपर्यासं दण्ड्यस्याप्यदण्डनम्, अकार्यविपर्यासमदण्ड्यस्यापि दण्डनम्, इच्छाद्वेषानुविधायिभिः आसन्नैः अन्तिकचरैः मन्त्र्यादिभिः राजा कार्यते । M. 39. तेन कार्याकार्यविपर्यसनेन विरक्तानां प्रकृतीनां कोपं गच्छेत् प्राप्नुयात् । अरिवशं वा । यथा वक्ष्यति—

"हन्यते वा प्रकृतिभिर्याति वा द्विषतां वशम् ।" (अधि. ६ अध्या. १)

इति । यतश्चैवं तस्माद् देवतानां देवसंभोगानाम् । आश्रमोपलक्षितानामाश्रमिणामित्यर्थः । पाषण्डानामाश्रमबाह्यानां पाशुपताद्याजीवकानाम् । श्रोत्रियाणां छन्दोऽध्यायिनाम् । पशूनां तदुपलक्षितानां तत्पालकानाम् । पुण्यस्थानानां तीर्थमठागारादीनां धर्मगरीयस्त्वात् पूर्वम् । ततो बालानामप्राप्तव्यवहाराणाम् । वृद्धानां लुप्तव्यवहाराणां (यात)यामानाम् । व्याधितानां कुष्ठ्यादीनाम् । व्यसनिनां ? (व्यङ्गानां) विकलाङ्गानाम् । अनाथानामनाश्रयाणामनुकम्पनीयत्वात् । स्त्रीणां सनाथानामपि तत्प्रकाश्यत्वात् । क्रमेण यतिनोकरणमिति (?) ॥

तदेवोक्तमनुक्तं च श्लोकैर्दर्शयन्नाह—**सर्वमिति**। यथाविहितं कालं कार्यान्तरमपास्य **सर्वं गुरुलाघवकार्यं शृणुयात् नातिपातयेत्**। तदात्वे प्रतिकुर्यात् ....यामुपेक्षितो धातून् व्याप्नुवन् **कृच्छ्रसाध्यो** भवति। कालान्तरे वा स्थैर्यमापन्नोऽसाध्य **एव**॥

अग्न्यगारगत इति साक्षिप्रश्नार्थमुपनयन्ति। निहितकाग्निप्रवेशगतः **कार्यं पश्येत्**। **वैद्यतपस्विनां** विद्यामधीतवतां विदुषां तपस्विनाम् [तदधीते तद्वेद (४. २. ५९.)] इत्यण्। ते हि विद्वत्तया नाविमृश्य कुर्वन्ति। तत्रापि विनय(स्त्वनाति ? नियमादि)रक्षार्थं **पुरोहिताचार्यसखो** भूत्वा। **प्रत्युत्थाय** आदरख्यापनार्थं प्रत्युद्गमनं कृत्वा। **अभिवाद्य च** धर्माचारानुवृत्त्यर्थम्॥

तपस्विनां च (वैद्यानां? **कार्याणि**) पारिशेष्यात् **त्रैविद्यैः** धर्मस्थैः प्रदेष्टृभिरपैरैश्च विद्वद्ब्राह्मणैः **सह कारयेत्**। तपस्विनां तैस्तैः शाम्यतीति। **माया-विदामैन्द्रजालिकानाम्। योगविदां** मन्त्रौषधयोगैरर्थान् विकुर्वतां **तैरेव कारयेत्। न स्वयं** कुर्यात्। **कोपकारणात्** क्रोधकारणात्। कदाचिद् वैद्यास्तपस्विनोऽ-वसन्नव्यवहाराः क्रोधेनापि शपन्ति। मायायोगैश्च तद्विदो वञ्चयन्ते॥

T. 97. उत्थानस्य दृढीकरणार्थमाह—**राज्ञो** हीति। **उत्थानं व्रतम्**। अव्रतिनो यज्ञेऽनधिकारात्। **यज्ञः कार्यानुशासनम्**। कार्याणामभि-मुख्येनानुशासनं व्रत्युत्थानव्रते यज्ञः कार्यानुशासनमधिक्रियते। यज्ञे द्रव्यादि-विसर्गो **दक्षिणा**। इह तु **वृत्तिसाम्यम्**। सर्वेभ्यो वृत्तेः समतां निग्रहानुग्रहयोरपक्षपातितां ददाति। **दीक्षा तस्य** राजार्थं **यदभिषेचनम्**। तदा प्रभृत्ययं कार्यानुशासनं यज्ञं प्रत्यधिक्रियते॥

तस्य च कार्यानुशासनयज्ञस्य दृष्टादृष्टं फलमित्याह—**प्रजासुख** इति। कण्टकशोधनादिकर्मानुष्ठानैः प्रजानां सुखोपभोगे सति **सुखं राज्ञः** उपभोगपर्याप्तस्य कोशादेर्लाभः। वक्ष्यति—"कोशो दण्डः विष्टिः कुप्यं वाहनं निचयाश्च जनपदादुत्तिष्ठन्ते" (अधि. ५. अध्या. १) इति। एतद् दृष्टं फलम्। **प्रजानां च हिते** स्वधर्मस्थापने सति **हितं** राज्ञो धर्मांशलाभः धर्मस्यांशभाङ्नृप इति वचनात्। इत्यदृष्टं फलम्। ननु च राज्ञ एव यत् प्रियं सुखं मृगयाद्यनुष्ठानं हितं च देवयागादि तदपि प्रजानां प्रियं हितं कस्मान्न भवतीत्याह—**नात्मनि प्रियं हितं राज्ञः। प्रजानां हि प्रियं हितं** प्रजानामाप्तकारित्वात्। प्रजाप्रियहितयोस्तु राजोपकारित्वात्॥

यथोक्तं निगमयन्नाह—**तस्मादिति** । **नित्योत्थितो** नित्योद्युक्तः । **अर्थानुशासनं** प्रयोजनानां सर्वेषामनुष्ठानम् । **अर्थस्य** प्रजाया आत्मनश्चार्थस्य **मूलं** प्रधानकारणम् **उत्थानम्** । **विपर्ययस्त्वनु(ष्ठा? त्था)नं न केवलमर्थस्य न मूलं** किं तर्ह्यनर्थस्यापि मूलम् ॥

अस्यैव प्रपञ्चमाह—**अनुत्थान** इति । भूतपूर्वस्यानवस्य पित्र्यस्य वा लाभस्य **प्राप्तस्य ध्रुवो नाशः** । **अनागतस्य** प्राप्तिमार्गागतस्य व्यपगमनं नाशः । उत्थानेऽपि किं लाभ एव उतालाभोऽपि कदाचिदिति नियमार्थमाह—**पूर्वमप्राप्तं प्राप्यत एव ध्रुवं फलमुत्थानात्** । **अर्थसंपदं** प्राप्तस्यार्थस्य संपदं विधिं **गुणाधानं वा लभते** राजेत्यर्थात् ॥

राजप्रणिधिः षोडशं प्रकरणम् ।

एकोनविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ विंशोऽध्यायः

T. 98. M. 40. रक्षितो राजेत्यतः प्रभृति राजरक्षणं प्रकृतम् । तद्विशेषा राजपुत्ररक्षणादयः । तत्र चोक्तम्—"दाररक्षणं निशान्तप्रणिधौ वक्ष्यामः" इति । अनन्तरं चोक्तम्—"अनुत्थाने ध्रुवो नाशः" इति । तत्परिहारार्थं **निशान्तप्रणिधिरुच्यत** इति प्रकरणसंबन्धः । निशान्तं गृहं तत्र प्रणिधानं व्यापार इति निशान्तप्रणिधिः ॥

तत्र निशान्तस्यैव संस्कारमाह—**वास्तुक** इति । वास्तु गृहम् । "अगारे णिच्च" (उणादि. ७६) इति वचनात् । तत्साहचर्याद् विद्यापि वास्तु, तदधीतवन्तो वास्तुकाः । उक्थादिदर्शनात् "इसुसुक्तान्तात्कः" (७-३-५१) । तैः **प्रशस्ते देशे** पूजिते । तद्यथा—अरत्निमात्रं खानयित्वा तत्पांसुभिः (पूरिते) तदाधिक्ये प्रशस्तं तद्धानावप्रशस्तं समे सममित्यादिना । **सप्राकारं सपरिखं सद्वारम्** । **अनेककक्ष्याभिर**नेकप्रकोष्ठैर्वक्ष्यमाणनिवेशापेक्षया चतसृभिः **परिक्षिप्तम्** । तदेवमुभयतः परिक्षेपाद्राजकीयकक्ष्यया सह सप्तकक्ष्यमन्तःपुरं राजवासकं **कारयेत्** ।

तस्यान्तःपुरस्य मध्ये राजकीयकक्ष्यायां **कोशगृहविधानेनेति** । "चतुरश्रां वापीं निरुदकस्नेहां खानयित्वा" (अधि. २. अध्या. ५.) इत्यादिना

अध्यक्षोक्तविधानेन वा । गृहमेवं हि गूढाः स्त्रियः सर्परसाग्निधूमैर्नैवाति-सन्दध्युः । गूढभित्तिसञ्चारं मोहनगृहं गूढो भित्तिषु सञ्चारो यस्यान्तः । उभयतो (भक्ति? भित्ति)रेवोपलक्ष्यते न सञ्चारः । तदागन्तुकमोहनार्थत्वान्मोहनगृहम् । तन्मध्ये वा वासगृहं कारयेत् । किञ्च भूमिगृहं कारयेत् । कीदृशमित्याह—आसन्नं सौकर्यार्थं यच्चैत्यम् इष्टकासमूहः तत्र या काष्ठदेवता काष्ठमयी यक्षादिप्रतिकृतिः सैवापिधानमावरणं यस्य द्वारस्य तदासन्नचैत्यकाष्ठदेवता-पिधानं द्वारं यस्य भूमिगृहस्य ॥

अन्यस्त्वाह—आसन्नं चेत्यादि प्रत्येकमपिधानम् यस्य द्वारस्येति । तत्र काष्ठं (प्रेत्य ख्यातो वनस्पति?) देवता शिलाकाष्ठमयी प्रतिकृतिरिति । अनेकया सुरुङ्गया सञ्चारो यस्मिन् । वक्ष्यति च—"सुरुङ्गया रात्रौ राजवासगृहमनुप्रविश्य सुप्तममित्रं हन्यात्" (अधि. १२. अध्या ५.) इति । प्रासादं वा तलबद्धं प्रकाशगृहगूढभित्तावन्तर्गतं सोपानं यस्य । सुषिरैश्च स्तम्भैः प्रवेशापसारौ प्रवेशनिर्गमौ यत्र । T. 99. यन्त्रबद्धतलावपातमिति । यन्त्रेण बद्धस्य तलस्यावपतनं यस्मिन् प्रासाद इति । यथा वक्ष्यति—"शूलकूटावपातं वा शयनासनस्याधस्ताद् यन्त्रबद्धतलम् एककीलमोक्षणेन प्रवेशयेत्" (अधि. १२. अध्या. ५.) इति । (पर) व्यापारस्य अभिघातार्थं कारयेत् । आपदि वा कारयेत् । चिरकृतस्य मन्त्रभेदो मा भूदिति । अतोऽन्यथा वेति उक्तादन्यथा वा स्वबुद्ध्या विकल्पयेत् सहाध्यायिभयात् । यथाविहितानुष्ठानपरैरप्येतच्छास्त्रविद्भिर्विज्ञेयत्वात् ॥

निशान्तस्य रक्षार्थमाह—मानुषेणेति मनुष्यभवेन (अग्निना) । वक्ष्यति—"शस्त्रहतस्य शूलप्रोतस्य वा पुरुषस्य वामपार्श्वपर्शुकास्थनि कल्माषवेणुना निर्मथितोऽग्निः" (अधि. १४. अध्या. २.) इत्यनेन । त्रिरपसव्यं प्रादक्षिण्येन त्रीन् वारं परिगतं नीराजितम् अन्तःपुरमग्निरन्यो न दहति । स एव दह्येत । यथा वक्ष्यति—"मानुषेणाग्निना परदुर्गमादीपयेत्" (अधि. १३. अध्या. ४.) इति । न चात्र अन्योऽग्निर्ज्वलति । प्रदीपस्तु स्वविषये वर्तौ ज्वलति, न पुनरस्यस्वेऽस्मिन्नपीडने (?) दहतीत्यनेनैव गतमिति चेत् प्रकर्षख्यापनार्थं वचनम् । अन्योऽपि वैद्युतोऽग्निर्नास्मिन् प्रभवतीति । वैद्युतेनेति वैद्युतोऽग्निस्तज्जेन भस्मना मृत्संयुक्तेन अवलिप्तं च । अन्योऽग्निर्मानुषो दिव्यो वा न दहतीति वर्तते ।

विषप्रतीकारार्थमाह—जीवन्ती शाकविशेषः । श्वेता गिरिकर्णिका । मुष्कको वृक्षः । तेषां यथायोग्यं पुष्पप्रवाळानि वन्दाकाश्च । ताभिः

गृहीताभिः । **अक्षीबे** अच्छुष्के (?) जातस्य **अश्वत्थस्य प्रतानेन** आरोहेण निकारणादि ? सन्निधानमात्रेणैव **गुप्तं** रक्षितम् **अन्तःपुरं विषाणि न प्रसहन्ते** नाभिभवन्ति । तत्प्रभावावनतवीर्यत्वात् । **मयूरनकुलपृषतोत्सर्गेति** । आकाश-विवरभूमिगतानां सर्पाणां भक्षणार्थम् उत्स्रष्टव्या नावरोद्धव्या मयूरादयः । ततश्च तेषामेव रक्षणमुत्सर्गस्योपचर्यते । T. 100. **शुकः शारिका भृङ्गराजः** पक्षिविशेषः **सर्पविषशङ्कायां** बन्धमसहमानाः **क्रोशन्ति** । बद्धा उत्सृष्टाश्च । **क्रौञ्चो विषा-भ्याशे** स्पर्शनदर्शनाघ्राणाच्च **माद्यति** विह्वलीभवति । M. 41. **ग्लायति जीवञ्जीवकः** दीनतां भजते । **म्रियते मत्तकोकिलः** न जीवति । **चकोरस्याक्षिणी** स्वभावतो रक्ते **विरज्येते** शुक्लतां प्रतिपद्येते । **एवम्** उक्तेन प्रकारेण **अग्निविषसर्पेभ्यः प्रतिकुर्वीत** प्रतीकारं कुर्यात् ॥

इदानीमन्तःपुरसन्निवेशमाह—**पृष्ठत** इति । वासगृहाद्बहिः त्रिकक्ष्यापरिक्षिप्तेऽन्तःपुरे प्रत्येकं कक्ष्याणां पुरः पृष्ठतः पार्श्वतश्च परिखादिभिर्विभक्तानां योऽनन्तरः पृष्ठतः कक्ष्याविभागः उभयपार्श्वार्धभागयुक्तः तत्र **स्त्रीणां** राज्ञीनां **स्वगृहात्** प्रत्यासन्नः । द्वितीये कक्ष्याविभागे **गर्भव्याधिस्थाः** गर्भिण्यो व्याधिताः स्त्रियो गर्भव्याधयः तासां **संस्थानं** संस्थितिः । ततः तृतीये कक्ष्याविभागे **वृक्षोदकस्थानम्** उद्यानवापीस्थानम् । पृष्ठतः कक्ष्यात्रयेषु उभयपार्श्वार्धसहितेषु निवेश उक्तः । पुरस्तादाह—**बहिरिति** । राजप्रकोष्ठाद्बहिः पुरस्तादग्रतः द्वितीये कक्ष्याविभागे उभयपार्श्वार्ध-युक्ते निर्गमनमार्गं त्यक्त्वा **कन्याकुमाराणाम्** अप्राप्तव्यवहाराणां शयनाध्ययन-व्यापारस्थानम् । **अध्यक्षाणां** समाहर्त्रादीनाम् अधिकरणस्थानम् । **सर्वत्र** दुर्गविधानादिप्रोक्तं प्रमाणदिग्विभागाद्यपेक्षम् । कक्ष्यान्तरेषु यथोक्तगृहानध्या-सितेषु **अन्तर्वंशिकानाम्** अन्तःपुरकक्ष्यानियुक्तानां **सैन्यं तिष्ठेत्** ॥

T. 101. इदानीं प्रणिधानमाह—**अन्तर्गृहगत** इति । स्वगृहगतः स्थविरस्त्रीभिः धात्रेयिकादिभिः वयसा विनयेन चाधिकाभिः परिशुद्धां कृतवस्त्रालं-कारशरीरशौचां **देवीं** राज्ञीम् । **पश्येदिति** दर्शनेऽपि प्रतिक्रिया, किं पुनः अभिगमन इति । न तु स्वगृहावस्थितां **काञ्चिद् अभिगच्छेद्** दोषपरिहारार्थम् ॥

तद्गृहगमनाद् अशोधनाच्च दोषमाह—**देवीगृह** इति । यस्माद् देवीगृहैकदेशे तया कृतसंजल्पः, आत्मानं प्रच्छाद्य स्थितः, रक्षाशैथिल्याद् उपेक्षितप्रवेशनिष्कासं कलिङ्गराजं **भद्रसेनं** तद्भ्राता राज्यापहारार्थं वीरसेनो **जघान** ॥

मातुः शय्यान्तर्गतश्चेति । शय्याया अधो लीनः **पुत्रः** राज्यार्थम् अन्यस्मिन् पुत्रे स्निह्यन्तं **कारूशं** करूशेषु राजानं देवीगृहगतं जघानेति वर्तते ॥

तथा अवरुद्धपुत्रशोकोपतप्ता बलात्कारेण अभिगच्छन्तम् एकदा **लाजा** मधुमिश्रा इति **विषेण विपर्यस्य** भोजयित्वा स्वयमविषान् भक्षयन्ती **देवी काशिराजं** जघान ॥

तथा सपत्नीभिर्मिथ्याभिशस्ता विपक्ष्योपगृहीता स्पर्शविसर्पिविषोपदिग्धबहिःपार्श्वेन **नूपुरेण** क्रीडया किलाहत्य कुन्तिभोजं **वैरन्त्यं** देवी जघान ॥

तथा **सौवीरराजं** परन्तपनामानम्, अतिवाक्पारुष्योपतापिता तन्मन्युमोक्षार्थिनी देवी स्वयमगदप्रतीकारा विषदिग्ध**मेखलामणिना** प्रणयकोपात् किलाहत्य जघान ॥

तथा **जारूथ**मयोध्याधिपतिं दारान्तरासक्तं बाह्योपचारमात्रोपहता अनन्तरसंभोगपीडिता प्रसाधनकाले विषदिग्धेन **आदर्शेन** प्रमादात् किल स्खलितेन अभिलिख्य मुखं विषस्पर्शाद् विसर्पोपद्रुतं देवी जघान ॥

तथा **विदूरथं** वृष्णीनामन्यतमं वेश्याभिः सहोपभुक्ताशेषभार्यान्वयधनम् अक्षममाणा **देवी** केशवेण्यां **गूढमल्पप्रमाणं शस्त्रं कृत्वा** निद्रापरवशं मर्मच्छेदाद् जघान ॥

.........नानिच्छन्तीं विमानितां वाभिगच्छेत् । नातिवाक्पारुष्यादिभिरुद्वेजयेत् । नानुपभोगेन पीडयेत् । न वा आसां धनं सपत्नीभिर्भुञ्जीतेति । अत एवोदाहरण.......... ॥

मुण्डजटिलाभिः प्रव्रजिताभिः, परचिन्तापराभिः । **कुहकादिभि**र्योगैर्विस्मापयन्तीभिः । (प्रतिसंसर्गम्) अतिसन्धानपरिहारार्थं प्रतिषेधयेत् । **न चैना** राज्ञीः । **कुल्याः** कुलजा अपि(तिस्रो?) मातृष्वस्रादयोऽपि बाह्याः **पश्येयुः** । मा भूदभैषज्यसञ्चार इति । **अन्यत्र गर्भव्याधिसंस्थाभ्यः** । गर्भिण्यादिषु पश्येयुः तदानीमवस्थाप्राप्तत्वात् ॥

रूपाजीवा वेश्याः । T. 102. ताः **स्नानेन प्रघर्षणेन** च कषायेण परोपभोगप्रतिषेधार्थम् । **शुद्धशरीराः** विषोपदेहपरिहारार्थम् । राजकीयभाण्डैः **परिवर्तितवस्त्रालंकाराः** परिचर्यार्थं स्वैरविहारार्थं वा । राजा **पश्येत्** ॥

M. 42. **आशीतिकाः** अशीतिजीवितपरिमाणाः **पुरुषाः, पञ्चाशत्का वा स्त्रियः** पञ्चाशज्जीवितपरिमाणाः । तेषां **नष्टरागत्वात् न बाह्यैः संसर्गः । मातापितृव्यञ्जनाः** श्रद्धेया विश्वास्या भवन्ति । **स्थविरा वयसा उपधया च शुद्धाः** । **वर्षवराः** षण्डाः । **अभ्यागारिकाः** अभिमुखेन अगारे नियुक्ताः कञ्चुकिनः । **अवरोधानां शौचाशौचं विद्युः** अन्तःपुरे सदा सन्निहिताः । **स्थापयेयुः स्वामिहिते** दृष्टादृष्टार्थगुणदर्शनेन, पतिव्रतासावित्र्यरुन्धतीदमयन्त्याद्युपाख्यानपूर्वकैः ॥

सन्निवेशनियमार्थं श्लोकावाह—**सर्वश्च** यथास्वं कल्पितायां **भूमौ निवसेत्** । **सर्व** इति अवरोधजनः तद्रक्षाधिकृतश्च । तत्र **वसन् परभूमौ न सञ्चरेत्** । असंचरन्नपि **न बाह्येन संसर्गम्** । न दानग्रहणादिना **कश्चिदाभ्यन्तरो व्रजेत्** । मा भूच्चारसञ्चार इति ॥

सर्वं च प्रलब्ध्वपि फलपुष्पादिद्रव्यम् । **अवेक्षितं** द्वाःस्थैः परिज्ञातमनुस्मरणार्थं च । **निबद्धागमनिर्गमम्** । तत्र दौवारिकत्रयं संक्रम्य आभ्यन्तरभूमिमभिगच्छेदिति ॥

इति निशान्तप्रणिधिः सप्तदशं प्रकरणम् ।

विंशश्चाध्यायः ॥

॥ अथैकविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

T. 103. पुत्रेभ्यो दारेभ्यश्च रक्षणमुक्त्वा प्रत्यासन्नेभ्यः पौरेभ्यश्च शयनोद्गमात् प्रभृति आत्मरक्षितमुच्यते, आत्मरक्षा प्रयोजनमस्येति । यदाह—**शयनादित्यादि** । अष्टमरात्रिभागशेषे शयनादुत्थितः **स्त्रीगणैरन्येषामभावात्** । वन्दिभिः स्तुतिपाठकैः **परिगृह्येत** परिवार्येत राजप्रकोष्ठ एव । ततो निष्क्रान्तः **द्वितीयस्यां कक्ष्यायां कञ्चुकोष्णीषिभिः** कञ्चुकोष्णीषप्रच्छादितशरीरैः **वर्षवराभ्यागारिकैः** अन्तःपुरपार्श्वमुपचरद्भिः । ततो निर्गतः **तृतीयस्यां कुब्जवामनकिरातैः** वर्षवराणां बाह्यसंसर्गप्रतिषेधार्थम् । ततो गृहीतालंकारकुब्जादिसहायो निर्गतः **चतुर्थ्यां मन्त्रिभिः** मन्त्रभूमेः बहिःस्थितैः । ततः **संबन्धिभिः** मातुलादिभिः आसन्नत्वात् । ततो **दौवारिकैश्च प्रास-**

पाणिभिः । परिगृह्येतेति सर्वत्र योज्यम् । दूरघातित्वात् प्रासादीनां क्षेपणायुधानां ग्रहणम् ॥

कक्ष्यान्तरेषु नियतपरिवारे रक्षणमुक्त्वा नक्तन्दिवं रक्षाविधानमाह—**पितृपैतामहमिति** । पितुरपि यः पैतामह इत्यनुवृत्तिप्रकर्षार्थम् । **महता** प्रत्यासन्नेन **सम्बन्धेन** स्रौवयौनमौखेन **संबद्धं** स्वीकृतम् । तयोरेव विशेषमाह—**शिक्षितं** ज्ञातप्रहरणविद्याकुशलं कर्मण्यत्वात् । **अनुरक्तम्** उपकारशीलत्वात् । **कृतकर्माणं** दर्शितज्ञातकर्म........त्साहकर्म च येनेति । दृष्टसामर्थ्यमित्यर्थः । एवंविधं **जनम् आसन्नं कुर्वीत** । एवंगुणमपि **अन्यदेशागतमकृतार्थमानं न** कृतावर्थमानौ यस्य तमासन्नं न कुर्यात् । **स्वदेशीयमपि अकृत्योपगृहीतं** नासन्नं कुर्यात् । अविस्मृतमहापकारत्वात् । **अन्तर्वंशिकसैन्यं** कर्तृ राजप्रयुक्तं राजानं गृहगतमन्तःपुरं च सर्वदा रक्षेत् ॥

M. 43. इदानीमाहारेषु प्रतीकारार्थं विशेषेण रक्षणमाह—**गुप्त** इति । प्रच्छन्ने देशे । **माहानसिकः** महानसनियुक्तः सर्वं भक्ष्यभोज्यादि **कर्म** । **आस्वादबाहुल्येन** पुनः पुनरास्वाद्य वैरस्यपरिहारार्थं कारयेत् । **तत्** तथा कृतमपि **राजा तथैवेति** एवमास्वाद्य तत्कारिभिः प्रतिभुञ्जीत । कृतात्मरक्षे प्रतिस्वादयितरि परीक्षाव्यभिचारः स्यादित्याह—**पूर्वमिति** । आचारानुवर्तनार्थं **च अग्नये वयोभ्यश्च** वायसादिभ्यो **बलिं कृत्वा** भुञ्जीतेति ॥

T. 104. तत्र लिङ्गान्याह—**अग्नेर्विषयुक्तस्य ज्वाला नीला धूमनीलता शब्दस्फोटनं च** अतिमात्रं चटचटाशब्दः । **वयसां** बलिभुजां विषयुक्तानां **विपत्तिः** विनाशः ॥

अन्नस्य विषयुक्तस्य अग्नावनवक्षिप्तस्य **उष्मा** बाष्पं **मयूरग्रीवाभः** । **शैत्यं** शीतता शीघ्रम् अतिमर्दनादिच । **क्लिष्टस्य वैवर्ण्यं** शाल्योदनस्य मलिनता । **सोदकत्वम् अक्लिन्नता** अस्विन्नत्वम् ॥

कठिनमज्जानां **व्यञ्जनानां** सूपादीनां विषयुक्तानाम् **आशु शुष्कता** उचितात् कालादाशु शुष्कत्वम् । दधितक्रादियुक्तस्य विषयुक्तस्य **उत्क्वथनं** क्वाथभावः । **प्रदेशस्य अविदग्धस्यापि श्यामभावः** । **अग्नेश्चिरादवतारितस्यापि**

फेनभावः । आम्लसंसृष्टस्येव क्षीरस्य सबन्धावयवविच्छिन्नभावः । गन्धस्पर्श-रसादीनां च वधः अभावः ॥

विपर्ययाच्छायया वा आत्ममुखबिम्बस्य दर्शनं द्रवस्य वा निष्प्रदर्शनं विध्यमानेष्विव (?) । फेनस्य श्रृतशीत इव क्षीरे पटलस्य सीमन्तस्य उभयतो विच्छेदस्य ऊर्ध्वराजीदर्शनं च ॥

रसस्य मध्ये उपरि **नीला राजी पयसः** क्षीरस्य **ताम्रा** । **मद्यतोययोः** मध्ये काली कृष्णवर्णा । **दध्नः श्यामेति**........कार्ष्ण्यं श्यामता ॥

T. 105. **शुष्काणां** वल्लूरादीनाम् **आशु शातनं** शीघ्रमवयवविशरणम् । **वैवर्ण्यं च** उचितवर्णव्यावृत्तिः ॥

कठिनानां भक्ष्यनालिकेरादीनां **मृदुत्वम्** । **मृदूनाम्** ....विषवायुस्पर्श-घ्राणादिभिः **क्षुद्रसत्त्वानां** मक्षिकादीनाम् अल्पवीर्यत्वाद् **वधः** मरणम् ॥

आहारव्यतिरेकेण अन्यत्रापि परीक्षामाह—**आस्तरणप्रावरणानां** कार्पासकाविकवल्कचर्मक्रिमिजादीनां मर्दितानामातपशुष्काणां **श्याममण्डलता** । **तान्तवानां** तन्तुशातनम् । ऊर्णचर्ममयानां लोमशातनम् । पुष्पपटकम्बलादीनां पक्ष्मशातनम् ॥

सौवर्णादीनां मणिमयानां स्फटिकादीनाम् । **पङ्कमलोपदेहता** पङ्कसदृशेन मलेन उपदिग्धता । **स्नेहरागगौरवप्रभाववर्णस्पर्शानां** यथोचितं **वधः** रौक्ष्यविरागलाघवादिना ॥

विषयुक्तानाम् आहारादीनां परिहारार्थं लिङ्गान्युक्तानि । **विषप्रदस्य तु** परिहारार्थं लिङ्गान्याह—**शुष्कवक्त्रता श्याववक्त्रता च** । **वाक्सङ्गोऽपि** प्रतिबन्धः । **स्वेदो विजृम्भणं चातिमात्रं वेपथुः** कम्पनम् । **प्रस्खलनं** **समेऽपि । वाक्यविप्रेक्षणं** किं वक्ष्यामीति चायस्य विशेषेण प्रेक्षणं निभालनम् । **आवेगोऽङ्गानामवसादः** । **कर्मणि** नियोगे । (स्व)**भूमौ च** स्वस्थाने च **अनवस्थानम्** अस्थैर्यम् ॥

यत एवमवधार्यते विषं **तस्मादस्य** राज्ञः परीक्षाप्रतीकारकुशलाः **जाङ्गलीविदः** जाङ्गलीविद्योपलक्षिता विषतन्त्रविदः । **भिषजश्च** अष्टाङ्गायुर्वेद-विदः **आसन्नाः** सन्निहिताः स्युः ॥

T.106.M.44. यदा राजा स्वस्थः अस्वस्थो वा भेषजमत्तुमिच्छति तदा भेषजव्यापारमाह—**भिषगिति** । **भैषज्यागाराद्** राजकीयाद् वैदेहकापणाद् वा **आस्वादविशुद्धम्** आस्वादेन विशुद्धं भ्रष्टरसवीर्यविपाकत्वात् । **औषधं गृहीत्वा पाचकपेषकाभ्यामपि** पक्वमपक्वं च ताभ्याम् । **आत्मना स्वयं (प्रतिस्वाद्य)** परोपजापशुद्ध्यर्थं राज्ञे प्रयच्छेत् । **पानं** सुरादिपानम् । **पानीयम् औषधेन व्याख्यातम्** । तत्कर्मान्तविकृतौ स्वकर्मान्तादन्यतो वा आनीय कर्मान्तिकै-रात्मना वा प्रतिस्वाद्य प्रयच्छेदित्यर्थः ॥

कल्पकः केशानां नापितः । **प्रसाधकाः** विलेपकादयः । ते **स्नातशुद्धवस्त्रहस्ताः** अशौचदुरुपदेहप्रतीकारार्थं स्नाता विरजोवस्त्राः प्रक्षालि-तहस्ताश्च । **समुद्रं** राजमुद्रिकामुद्रितावरणं क्षुरादि । **अन्तर्वंशिकहस्तादिति** बहिः कूटमुद्रयापि मुद्रितः स्यादिति अन्तर्वंशे स्थाप्यमिति दर्शयति । **परिचरेयुः** स्वकर्मणा ॥

स्नापकादीनां कर्म बाह्योपजापपरिहारार्थं **दास्यः कुर्युः**, बाह्यैरसंस्पृष्टा इत्यर्थोक्तम् । तत्र **स्नापकः** उद्वर्तनाभिषेचनकरः । **संवाहकः** गात्रमर्दकः । **आस्तरकः** शय्याकर्मान्तिकः । तासां शिल्पाकौशले **ताभिरेवाधिष्ठिताः** परीक्षिताः **शिल्पिनः** स्नापकादयः कर्म कुर्युः । **आत्मचक्षुषि निवेश्य पूर्वमश्रु-**कण्डूयनशूनताद्यभावात् परिशुद्धम् । **वस्त्रं माल्यं च** तत्कर्मान्तिका **दद्युः** । तथा स्नानादीनि **स्ववक्षोबाहुषु च** । चकारात् स्वचक्षुषि निवेश्य तदधिकृता दद्युः । तान्यपि कण्डूश्वयथुविह्वलत्वादि कुर्वन्ति । तत्र **स्नानमुद्वर्तनादि** । **अनुलेपनं** चन्दनादि । **प्रघर्षणं** लोध्रकल्कादि । **चूर्णं** जम्बूकषायादि । **वासः** पटवासादि । **स्नानीयं** रास्नादि । **एतेनेति** स्वगृहोपकरणपरीक्षणेन । **परस्मात्** परिग्रहात् सामन्तात् । **आगतं व्याख्यातम्** ॥

T. 107. **कुशीलवा** नटादयः । **शस्त्राग्निरसवर्जम्** । शस्त्रादीनि प्रेक्षणीयाङ्गानि त्यक्त्वा अन्यैरुपकरणैर्नर्मयेयुः क्रीडयेयुः । **आतोद्यानि चैषां**

मुरजपटहादीनि शस्त्रादिसंगोपनहेतुत्वाद् **अन्तरुपस्थाने** प्रकोष्ठके **तिष्ठेयुः।** **अश्वरथद्विपानां चालंकाराः** समायोगा बहिःस्थिता दुष्यन्त इत्यन्तरेव तिष्ठेयुः ॥

मौलपुरुषैरधिष्ठितम् । तेषामाप्तत्वात् । **यानं** युगादि । **वाहन-मश्वादिकम्** । **आरोहेद्** राजा । **नावं चाप्तनाविकाधिष्ठिताम्** आप्तकर्ण-धारादिनाविकारोह इत्येव । **अन्यनौप्रतिबद्धाम्** परनौभिः गुणैः प्रतिबद्धां पराधीनगतिम् । **वातवेगवशां च** अस्वतन्त्रगमनागमनां **नोपेयात्** नारोहेत् । स्नातुकामस्य **उदकान्ते** उदकसमीपे गूढपुरुषप्रतिषेधार्थं **सैन्यमासीत** । **मत्स्यग्राहैः** कैवर्तैः । **विशुद्धमुदकं** स्नानार्थं वा **अवगाहेत** । **एवं व्याळग्राहैः** सर्पग्राहैः **परिशुद्धं** गृहीतोत्सारितवास्तव्यागन्तुकसर्पम् । **उद्यानं** क्रीडार्थं गच्छेत् ॥

तथा **लुब्धकैः** व्याधैः । **श्वगणिभिः** आखेटिभिः । **अपास्तम्** अपनीतं **चोरव्याघ्रादिभयं परप्रयोगपुरुषाबाधभयं च यस्मिंस्तन्मृगयारण्यं** मृगवनम् । **लक्ष्यपरिचयार्थं** मृगयार्जितमांसविहितश्राद्धकर्मार्थं च **गच्छेत्** ॥

M. 45. तथा **आप्तैः शस्त्रग्राहिभिः** तद्व्यञ्जनातिसन्धानरक्षार्थम् **अधिष्ठितः सामन्तदूतं पश्येदि**त्येव । एवमप्रमादार्थं **सन्नद्धः अश्वं हस्तिनं** वा यथेष्टगमनाभिद्रवणसमर्थम् । **आरूढः** नाथनियतदेशसञ्चरणपदातिरेव गम्यत्वात् (?) बलदर्शननीराजनादिषु । **सन्नद्धमनीकं गच्छेत्** ॥

T. 108. **निर्याणेऽभियाने चे**ति निष्कासप्रवेशकाले च । **राजमार्गमु-भयतः** पार्श्वाभ्यां **कृतारक्षं गच्छेत्** । तत्रापि दण्डिभिः वेत्रग्राहिभिः । **अपास्ता** अपसारिताः साहसिकशङ्कया (शस्त्रहस्ताः) **प्रव्रजिताः** व्यङ्गा विकलावयवाः अप्रमादार्थमशुभदर्शनपरिहारार्थं च **यस्मिंस्तत्** । एवंविधशस्त्रादिरहितमपि **पुरुषान्तरैः संबाधं** संकीर्णं राजमार्गमन्यद्वा प्रेक्षणीयादि । **नावगाहेत** दुर्विभाव्यपुरुषत्वात् । **यात्रा** देवतायाः । **समाजः** समवायः । **उत्सवो** विवाहादिः । **प्रहवणं** भोजनम् । तानि **दशवर्गिकाधिष्ठितानि** दशानां दशानं च वर्गो गच्छः ? । तत्र **नियुक्तेन......**अधिष्ठितानि **सत्यामिच्छायां** कार्यवशाद् वा **गच्छेत्** ॥

प्रमादस्थानभूयस्त्वात् प्रतिपदं प्रपञ्चयितुमशक्यत्वात् संक्षिप्य **रक्षां श्लोकेनाह—यथा** चेति । **यथा ....** नीत्या अतिसन्धत्ते **तथा अन्याबाधेभ्यः** अन्यप्रयुक्तेभ्यः आबाधेभ्यः **रक्षेदात्मानमात्मवान्** ॥

आत्मवत्ता च विनयाधिकारिकार्थानुष्ठानात् । तथा हि—यथोपदिष्टाभिर्विद्याभिः वृद्धसंयोगाज्जितेन्द्रियः अमात्यान् मन्त्रिणः पुरोहितं चोत्पाद्य .... (विद्याभिः?)विनियोगार्थं ज्ञातकर्मामात्यशौचः गूढपुरुषानुत्पाद्य यथायथं च प्रणिधाय, तैः स्वविषये कृतकृत्याकृत्यपक्षोपग्रहः कर्तव्यमवधृत्य दूतैर्बाह्यं स्वविहितेऽवस्थाप्य, आन्तरोपद्रवप्रतिषेधाय राजपुत्रान् विनीय, अवरोद्धारं पितरमाराध्य, अवरुद्धं वा पुत्रं वशीकृत्य, अहोरात्रं कार्येष्ववहितः, अन्तःपुरविहारेष्वप्रमत्तः, सर्वाहारविहारस्थानेषु यो रक्षो .... मान् स एवात्मवान् इति प्रशंसायां मतुप् ॥

इत्यात्मरक्षितमष्टादशं प्रकरणम् ।

एकविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

समाप्तं चेदं कौटलीयार्थशास्त्रसद्व्याख्यानटीकायां
जयमङ्गलायां विनयाधिकारिकं
प्रथममधिकरणम् ॥

19354 8
சென்னை-600 008

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

O. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory.......... A Journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.—......This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly articles: a very pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle." 12th December, 1926.—................ The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review." November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research.................The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning........

"New India," 20th December, 1926.—..............The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.—............The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.—...............The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work....

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.—......It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.—.........I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the orginality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions.....

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE, MADRAS

GOVERNING BODY

PRESIDENT:

Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, LL.D., K.C.I.E.
Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, LL.D., D.SC.

TRUSTEES:

Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, B.A., B.L.
Rao Bahadur A. A. Venkatarama Iyer.

TREASURER:

Sri M. Subbaraya Iyer, B.A., B.L.

MEMBERS:

Rao Bahadur Prof. D. S. Sarma.
Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri.
Prof. P. N. Srinivasachariar.
Sri T. K. Rajagopala Iyer.
Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer.
Sri T. V. Visvanatha Iyer.

SECRETARIES:

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, B.A., B.L.
Prof. A. Shanmukha Mudaliar, M.A.
Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D.

RESEARCH COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN:

Prof. M. Hiriyanna.

VICE-CHAIRMAN:

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

MEMBERS:

Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai.
Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., PH.D.
Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.PHIL.
Dr. A. Sankaran, M.A., PH.D.
Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M.A.
Sri T. Chandrasekharan, M.A., L.T.

EX-OFFICIO:

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, B.A., B.L.
Prof. A. Shanmukha Mudaliar, M.A.
Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D. (*Correspondent for the Journal*).

All Communications should be addressed to the Correspondent, Journal of Oriental Research, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras.

PRINTED BY N. RAMARATNAM, M.A., B.L., AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS
55 & 56 MUNDAKANNI AMMAN KOIL STREET, MYLAPORE, MADRAS.
PUBLISHED BY K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, KSRI., MYLAPORE, MADRAS.